THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

A QUARTERLY FOR THE INDEPENDENT THINKER

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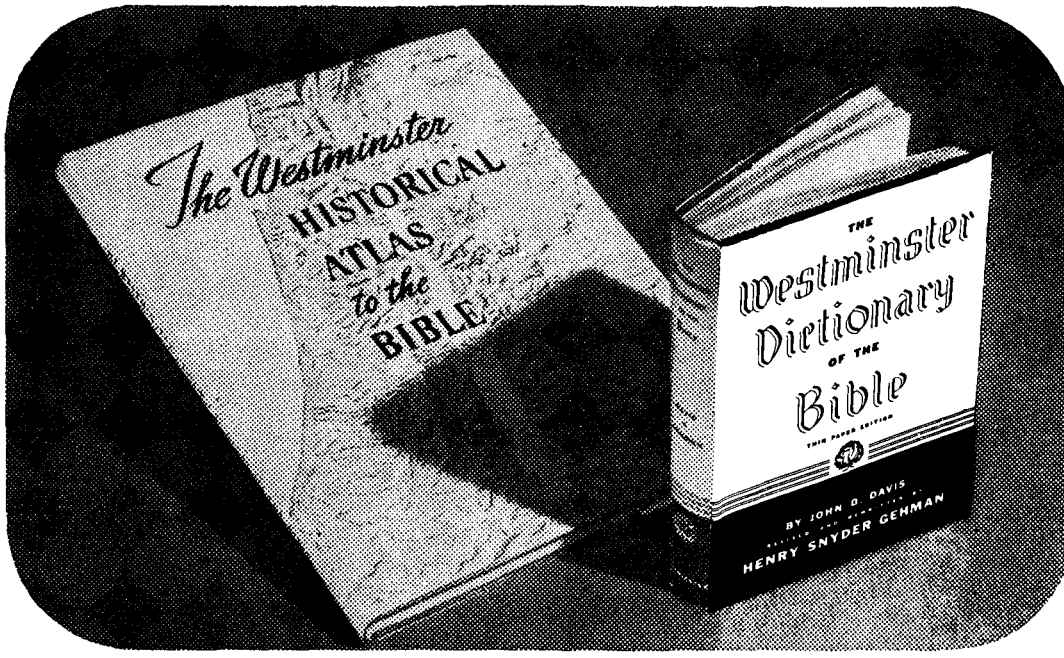

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By FRED B. MILLETT

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THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

VOLUME 14 *Spring 1945* NUMBER 2

Understood of the People

A NEW MEMBER of the Editorial Board of this periodical learned the other evening that the Board actually does meet and deliberate. Overawed, as new members on any illustrious Board may well be, he may have missed certain undertones and overtones in the discussion, but he carried away in his memory one comment that seemed to him significant. This was that the accuracy of a certain scientific essay had been carefully considered by the Board's technical advisers in the relevant field, and that the decision had been reached that while a phrase or two might be questioned by specialists the words could not convey a wrong impression to the unspecialized public. The inference is clear. There is a general language for the general public. There are a series of highly specialized languages, more precise than any general language, for a series of highly specialized publics.

This magazine's public is not actually general, for it represents but a small fraction (and until the paper shortage is relieved cannot represent a much larger fraction) of the reading population of the United States. It is a general public, however, in the sense that it reads these pages to satisfy a general and not a specialized intellectual curiosity. THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR is an experiment in making important and sometimes difficult subjects comprehensible. The new Board member judges it is succeeding, though he does not doubt that further progress may be made in the direction of simplicity with no sacrifice of essential accuracy.

Perhaps this problem will never be wholly solved, by this magazine or by any other. Professor Einstein's meaning cannot

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be entirely conveyed to those who have no knowledge of higher mathematics. Each of our almost countless subdivisions of knowledge has its own shorthand, its own slang, its own symbols—whatever one chooses to call them. But eventually they must be translated. The Einstein universe, the sub-atomic abysses, the processes of heredity, the intricacies of international trade and finance, all these elements and what we think or know about them have a bearing on human welfare. Ultimately they shape the lives of humble and unlettered persons, as well as those of the great and wise. Somehow we must find common words for them which will be true and accurate in practice, at least to the extent that they do shape human lives. For otherwise the precious wisdom of the race will be frozen at the roots and never flower in a more beautiful, happier society.

We need translators, themselves fully understanding, who will risk the scepticism of the pure specialists in order to reach the larger public; men who will take the monastic oath of purity in the holy rudiments of truth; men, also, who will gird up their robes and go into the highways and byways preaching this truth in a language understood of the people. THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR has found some such men. May there be more and may they receive the honor they deserve!

R. L. Duffus

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On the "Cosmologic Problem"[1]

Albert Einstein

SINCE the first edition of this little book some advances have been made in the theory of relativity. Some of these we shall mention here only briefly:

The first step forward is the conclusive demonstration of the existence of the red shift of the spectral lines by the (negative) gravitational potential of the place of origin. This demonstration was made possible by the discovery of so-called "dwarf stars" whose average density exceeds that of water by a factor of the order 10^4. For such a star (e.g. the faint companion of Sirius), whose mass and radius can be determined,[2] this red shift was expected, by the theory, to be about 20 times as large as for the sun, and indeed it was demonstrated to be within the expected range.

A second step forward, which will be mentioned briefly, concerns the law of motion of a gravitating body. In the initial formulation of the theory the law of motion for a gravitating particle was introduced as an independent fundamental assumption in addition to the field law of gravitation — see Eq. 90 which asserts that a gravitating particle moves in a geodesic line. This constitutes a hypothetic translation of Galileo's law of inertia to the case of the existence of "genuine" gravitational fields. It has been shown that this law of motion — generalized to the case of arbitrarily large gravitating masses — can be derived from the field-equations of empty space. According to this derivation the law of motion is implied by the condition that the field be singular nowhere outside its generating mass points.

[1] This article is the appendix to the new revised edition of Professor Einstein's *The Meaning of Relativity*, to be published this spring by the Princeton University Press.

[2] The mass is derived from the reaction on Sirius by spectroscopic means, using the Newtonian laws; the radius is derived from the total lightness and from the intensity of radiation per unit area, which may be derived from the temperature of its radiation.

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A third step forward, concerning the so-called "cosmologic problem," will be considered here in detail, in part because of its basic importance, partly also because the discussion of these questions is by no means concluded. I feel urged toward a more exact discussion also by the fact that I cannot escape the impression that in the present treatment of this problem the most important basic points of view are not sufficiently stressed.

The problem can be formulated roughly thus: On account of our observations on fixed stars we are sufficiently convinced that the system of fixed stars does not in the main resemble an island which floats in infinite empty space, and that there does not exist anything like a center of gravity of the total amount of existing matter. Rather, we feel urged toward the conviction that there exists an average density of matter in space which differs from zero.

Hence the question arises: Can this hypothesis, which is suggested by experience, be reconciled with the general theory of relativity?

First we have to formulate the problem more precisely. Let us consider a finite part of the universe which is large enough so that the average density of matter contained in it is an approximately continuous function of (x_1, x_2, x_3, x_4). Such a subspace can be considered approximately as an inertial system (Minkowski space) to which we relate the motion of the stars. One can arrange it so that the mean velocity of matter relative to this system shall vanish in all directions. There remain the (almost random) motions of the individual stars, similar to the motions of the molecules of a gas. It is essential that the velocities of the stars are known by experience to be very small as compared to the velocity of light. It is therefore feasible for the moment to neglect this relative motion completely, and to consider the stars replaced by material dust without (random) motion of the particles against each other.

The above conditions are by no means sufficient to make the problem a definite one. The simplest and most radical specialization would be the condition: The (naturally measured) density, ρ of matter is the same everywhere in (four-dimensional) space,

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the metric is, for a suitable choice of coordinates, independent of x_4 and homogeneous and isotropic with respect to x_1, x_2, x_3.

It is this case which I at first considered the most natural idealized description of physical space in the large. The objection to this solution is that one has to introduce a negative pressure, for which there exists no physical justification. In order to make that solution possible I originally introduced a new member into the equation instead of the above mentioned pressure, which is permissible from the point of view of relativity. The equations of gravitation thus enlarged were:

$$(1) \qquad (R_{ik} - \tfrac{1}{2}g_{ik}R) + \Lambda g_{ik} + \kappa T_{ik} = 0$$

where Λ is a universal constant ("cosmologic constant"). The introduction of this second member constitutes a complication of the theory, which seriously reduces its logical simplicity. Its introduction can only be justified by the difficulty produced by the almost unavoidable introduction of a finite average density of matter. We may remark, by the way, that in Newton's theory there exists the same difficulty.

The mathematician Friedman found a way out of this dilemma.[3] His result then found a surprising confirmation by Hubble's discovery of the expansion of the stellar system (a red shift of the spectral lines which increases uniformly with distance). The following is essentially nothing but an exposition of Friedman's idea:

FOUR-DIMENSIONAL SPACE WHICH IS ISOTROPIC WITH RESPECT TO THREE DIMENSIONS

We observe that the systems of stars, as seen by us, are spaced with approximately the same density in all directions. Thereby we are moved to the assumption that the *spatial* isotropy of the system would hold for all observers, for every place and every time of an observer who is at rest as compared with surrounding matter. On the other hand, we no longer make the assumption that the average density of matter, for an observer who is at rest

[3] He showed that it is possible, according to the field equations, to have a finite density in the whole (three-dimensional) space, without enlarging these field equations *ad hoc*.

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relative to neighboring matter, is constant with respect to time. With this we drop the assumption that the expression of the metric field is independent of time.

We now have to find a mathematical form for the condition that the universe, *spatially speaking*, is isotropic everywhere. Through every point P of (four-dimensional) space there is the path of a particle (which in the following will be called "geodesic" for short). Let P and Q be two infinitesimally near points of such a geodesic. We shall then have to demand that the expression of the field shall be invariant relative to any rotation of the coordinate system keeping P and Q fixed. This will be valid for any element of any geodesic.[4]

The condition of the above invariance implies that the entire geodesic lies on the axis of rotation and that its points remain invariant under rotation of the coordinate system. This means that the solution shall be invariant with respect to all rotations of the coordinate system around the triple infinity of geodesics.

For the sake of brevity I will not go into the deductive derivation of the solution of this problem. It seems intuitively evident, however, for the three-dimensional space that a metric which is invariant under rotations around a double infinity of lines will be essentially of the type of central symmetry (by suitable choice of coordinates), where the axes of rotations are the radial straight lines, which by reasons of symmetry are geodesics. The surfaces of constant radius are then surfaces of constant (positive) curvature which are everywhere perpendicular to the (radial) geodesics. Hence we obtain in invariant language:

There exists a family of surfaces orthogonal to the geodesics. Each of these surfaces is a surface of constant curvature. The segments of these geodesics contained between any two surfaces of the family are equal.

Remark. The case which has thus been obtained intuitively is not the general one in so far as the surfaces of the family could be of constant negative curvature or Euclidean (zero curvature).

[4] This condition not only limits the metric, but it necessitates that for every geodesic there exist a system of coordinates such that relative to this system the invariance under rotation around this geodesic is valid.

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The four-dimensional case which interests us is entirely analogous. Furthermore there is no essential difference when the metric space is of index of inertia 1; only that one has to choose the radial directions as timelike and correspondingly the directions in the surfaces of the family as spacelike. The axes of the local light cones of all points lie on the radial lines.

Choice of Coordinates

Instead of the four coordinates for which the spatial isotropy of the universe is most clearly apparent, we now choose different coordinates which are more convenient from the point of view of physical interpretation.

As timelike lines on which x_1, x_2, x_3 are constant and x_4 alone variable we choose the particle geodesics which in the central symmetric form are the straight lines through the center. Let x_4 further equal the metric distance from the center. In such coordinates the metric is of the form:

$$(2) \qquad \begin{cases} ds^2 = dx_4^2 - d\sigma^2 \\ d\sigma^2 = \gamma_{ik} dx_i dx_k \qquad (i, k = 1, 2, 3) \end{cases}$$

$d\sigma^2$ is the metric on one of the spherical hypersurfaces. The γ_{ik} which belong to different hypersurfaces will then (because of the central symmetry) be the same form on all hypersurfaces except for a positive factor which depends on x_4 alone:

$$(2a) \qquad \gamma_{ik} = \underset{0}{\gamma_{ik}} G^2$$

where the $\underset{0}{\gamma}$ depend on x_1, x_2, x_3 only, and G is a function of x_4 alone. We have then:

$$(2b) \qquad \underset{0}{d\sigma^2} = \underset{0}{\gamma_{ik}} dx_i dx_k \qquad (i, k = 1, 2, 3)$$

is a definite metric of constant curvature in three dimensions, the same for every G.

Such a metric is characterized by the equations:

$$(2c) \qquad \underset{0}{R_{iklm}} - B(\underset{0}{\gamma_{il}}\underset{0}{\gamma_{km}} - \underset{0}{\gamma_{im}}\underset{0}{\gamma_{kl}}) = 0$$

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We can choose the coordinate system (x_1, x_2, x_3) so that the line element becomes conformally Euclidean:

$$(2d) \qquad \underset{0}{d\sigma^2} = A^2(dx_1^2 + dx_2^2 + dx_3^2) \text{ i.e. } \underset{0}{\gamma_{ik}} = A^2\delta_{ik}$$

where A shall be a positive function of $r(r = x_1^2 + x_2^2 + x_3^2)$ alone. By substitution into the equations, we get for A the two equations:

$$(3) \qquad \begin{cases} -\frac{1}{r}\left(\frac{A'}{Ar}\right)' + \left(\frac{A'}{Ar}\right)^2 = 0 \\ -\frac{2A'}{Ar} - \left(\frac{A'}{A}\right)^2 - BA^2 = 0 \end{cases}$$

The first equation is satisfied by:

$$(3a) \qquad A = \frac{c_1}{c_2 + c_3 r^2}$$

where the constants are arbitrary for the time being. The second equation then yields:

$$(3b) \qquad B = 4\frac{c_2 c_3}{c_1^2}$$

About the constants c we get the following: If for $r = 0$, A shall be positive, then c_1 and c_2 must have the same sign. Since a change of sign of all three constants does not change A, we can make c_1 and c_2 both positive. We can also make c_2 equal to 1. Furthermore, since a positive factor can always be incorporated into the G^2, we can also make c_1 equal to 1 without loss of generality. Hence we can set:

$$(3c) \qquad A = \frac{1}{1 + cr^2}; \; B = 4c$$

There are now three cases:

$c > 0$ (spherical space)
$c < 0$ (pseudospherical space)
$c = 0$ (Euclidean space)

By a similarity transformation of coordinates ($x_1' = ax_i$, where a is constant), we can further get in the first case $c = \frac{1}{4}$, in the second case $c = -\frac{1}{4}$.

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For the three cases we then have respectively:

$$(3d)\qquad \begin{cases} A = \dfrac{1}{1 - \dfrac{r^2}{4}};\ B = +1 \\ A = \dfrac{1}{1 - \dfrac{r^2}{4}};\ B = -1 \\ A = 1;\ B = 0 \end{cases}$$

In the spherical case the "circumference" of the unit space $(G = 1)$ is $\displaystyle\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} \frac{dr}{1 + \dfrac{r^2}{4}} = 2\pi$ the "radius" of the unit space is 1. In all three cases the function G of time is a measure for the change with time of the distance of two points of matter (measured on a spatial section). In the spherical case, G is the radius of space at the time x_4.

Summary. The hypothesis of *spatial* isotropy of our idealized universe leads to the metric:

$$(2)\qquad ds^2 = dx_4^2 - G^2A^2(dx_1^2 + dx_2^2 + dx_3^2)$$

where G depends on x_4 alone, A on $r\ (= x_1^2 + x_2^2 + x_3^2)$ alone, where:

$$(3)\qquad A = \frac{1}{1 + \dfrac{z}{4}r^2}$$

and the different cases are characterized by $z = 1$, $z = -1$, and $z = 0$ respectively.

The Field Equations

We must now further satisfy the field equations of gravitation, that is to say the field equations without the "cosmologic member" which had been introduced previously *ad hoc:*

$$(4)\qquad (R_{ik} - \tfrac{1}{2}g_{ik}R) + \kappa T_{ik} = 0$$

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By substitution of the expression for the metric, which was based on the assumption of spatial isotropy, we get after calculation:

$$R_{ik} - \frac{1}{2} g_{ik} R = \left(\frac{z}{G^2} + \frac{G'^2}{G^2} + 2\frac{G''}{G} \right) G A \delta_{ik} \qquad (i, k = 1, 2, 3)$$

$$(4a) \qquad R_{44} - \frac{1}{2} g_{44} R = -3 \left(\frac{z}{G^2} + \frac{G'^2}{G^2} \right)$$

$$R_{i4} - \tfrac{1}{2} g_{i4} R = 0 \quad (i = 1, 2, 3)$$

Further we have for T_{ik}, the energy tensor of matter, for "dust":

$$(4b) \qquad T^{ik} = \rho \frac{dx_i}{ds} \frac{dx_k}{ds}$$

The geodesics, along which the matter moves, are the lines along which x_4 alone varies; on them $dx_4 = ds$. We have:

$$(4c) \qquad T^{44} = \rho$$

the only component different from zero. By lowering of the indices we get as the only non-vanishing component of T_{ik}:

$$(4d) \qquad T^{44} = 1$$

Considering this, the field equations are:

$$(5) \qquad \begin{cases} \dfrac{z}{G^2} + \dfrac{G'^2}{G^2} + 2\dfrac{G''}{G} = 0 \\ \dfrac{z}{G^2} + \dfrac{G'^2}{G^2} - \dfrac{1}{3}\kappa\rho = 0 \end{cases}$$

$\frac{z}{G^2}$ is the curvature in the spatial section $x_4 = \text{const}$. Since G is in all cases a relative measure for the metric distance of two material particles as function of time, $\frac{G'}{G}$ expresses Hubble's expansion. A drops out of the equations, as it has to if there shall be solutions of the equations of gravity of the required symmetrical type.

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By subtraction of both equations we get:

$$\frac{G''}{G} + \frac{1}{6}\kappa\rho = 0 \tag{5a}$$

Since G and ρ must be everywhere positive, G'' is everywhere negative for nonvanishing ρ. $G(x_4)$ can thus have no minimum nor a point of inflection; further there is no solution for which G is constant.

The Special Case of Vanishing Spatial Curvature ($z = 0$)

The simplest special case for nonvanishing density ρ is the case $z = 0$, where the sections $x_4 = \text{const}$ are not curved. If we set $\frac{G'}{G} = h$, the field equations in this case are:

$$\begin{cases} 2h' + 3h^2 = 0 \\ 3h^2 = \kappa\rho \end{cases} \tag{5b}$$

The relation between Hubble's expansion h and the average density ρ, which is given in the second equation, is comparable to some extent with experience, at least as far as the order of magnitude is concerned. The expansion is given as 432 km/sec for the distance of 10^6 parsec. If we express this in the system of measures used by us (cm — as unit length; unit of time — that of motion of light of one cm) we get:

$$h = \frac{432 \cdot 10^5}{3.25 \cdot 10^6 \cdot 365 \cdot 24 \cdot 60 \cdot 60} \cdot \left(\frac{1}{3 \cdot 10^{10}}\right)^2 = 4.71 \cdot 10^{-28}.$$

Since further (see 105a) $\kappa = 1.86 \cdot 10^{-27}$, the second equation of (5b) yields:

$$\rho = \frac{3h^2}{\kappa} = 3.5 \cdot 10^{-28}\ \text{g./cm.}^3$$

This value corresponds, according to the order of magnitude, somewhat with the estimates given by astronomers (on the basis of the masses and parallaxes of visible stars and systems of stars). I quote here as example G. C. McVittie (Proceedings of the Physical Society of London, vol. 51, 1939, p. 537): "The average den-

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sity is certainly not greater than 10^{-27} g./cm.^{3} and is more probably of the order 10^{-29} g./cm.^{3}"

Owing to the great difficulty of determining this magnitude I consider this for the time being a satisfactory correspondence. Since the quantity h is determined with greater accuracy than ρ, it is probably not an exaggeration to assert that the determination of the structure of observable space is tied up with the more precise determination of ρ. Because, due to the second equation of (5), the space curvature is given in the general case as:

$$(5c) \qquad \varkappa G^{-2} = \tfrac{1}{3}\,\kappa\rho - h^2.$$

Hence, if the right side of the equation is positive, the space is of positive constant curvature and therefore finite; its magnitude can be determined with the same accuracy as this difference. If the right side is negative, the space is infinite. At present ρ is not sufficiently determined to enable us to deduce from this relation a nonvanishing mean curvature of space (the section $x_4 = \text{const}$).

In case we neglect spatial curvature, the first equation of (5c) becomes, after suitable choice of the initial point of x_4:

$$(6) \qquad h = \frac{2}{3} \cdot \frac{1}{x_4}$$

This equation has a singularity for $x_4 = 0$, so that such a space has either a negative expansion and the time is limited from above by the value $x_4 = 0$, or it has a positive expansion and begins to exist for $x_4 = 0$. The latter case corresponds to what we find realized in nature.

From the measured value of h we get for the time of existence of the world up to now $1.5 \cdot 10^9$ years. This age is about the same as that which one has obtained from the disintegration of uranium for the firm crust of the earth. This is a paradoxical result, which for more than one reason has aroused doubts as to the validity of the theory.

The question arises: Can the present difficulty, which arose under the assumption of a practically negligible spatial curvature, be eliminated by the introduction of a suitable spatial curvature?

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Here the first equation of (5), which determines the time-dependence of G, will be of use.

Solution of the Equations in the Case of Nonvanishing Spatial Curvature

If one considers a spatial curvature of the spatial section ($x_4 =$ const), one has the equations:

$$zG^{-2} + \left(2\frac{G''}{G} + \left(\frac{G'}{G}\right)^2\right) = 0 \tag{5}$$

$$zG^{-2} + \left(\frac{G'}{G}\right)^2 - \frac{1}{3}\kappa\rho = 0$$

The curvature is positive for $z = +1$, negative for $z = -1$. The first of these equations is integrable. We first write it in the form:

$$z + 2GG'' + G'^2 = 0. \tag{5d}$$

If we consider x_4 ($= t$) as a function of G, we have:

$$G' = \frac{1}{t'},\ G'' = \left(\frac{1}{t'}\right)'\frac{1}{t'}.$$

If we write $u(G)$ for $\frac{1}{t'}$, we get:

$$z + 2Guu' + u^2 = 0 \tag{5e}$$

or

$$z + (Gu^2)' = 0. \tag{5f}$$

From this we get by simple integration:

$$zG + Gu^2 = G_0 \tag{5g}$$

or, since we set $u = \frac{1}{\frac{dt}{dG}} = \frac{dG}{dt}$:

$$\left(\frac{dG}{dt}\right)^2 = \frac{G_0 - zG}{G} \tag{5h}$$

where G_0 is a constant. This constant cannot be negative, as we see if we differentiate (5h) and consider that G'' is negative because of (5a).

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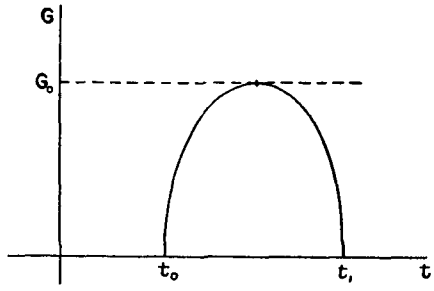
(a) Space with positive curvature

G remains in the interval $0 \leq G \leq G_0$. G is given quantitatively by a sketch like the following:

(1)



The radius G rises from 0 to G_0 and then again drops continuously to 0. The spatial section is finite (spherical)

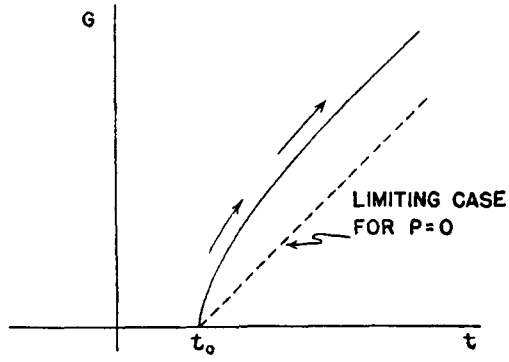
(5c) $$\tfrac{1}{3}\kappa\rho - h^2 > 0$$

(b) Space with negative curvature

$$\left(\frac{dG}{dt}\right)^2 = \frac{G_0 + G}{G}.$$

G increases with t from $G = 0$ to $G = +\infty$ (or goes from $G = \infty$ to $G = 0$). Hence $\frac{dG}{dt}$ decreases monotonically from $+\infty$ to 1 as illustrated by the sketch:

(2)



This is then a case of continued expansion with no contraction. The spatial section is infinite. (If one neglects the possibility of spatial periodicity),

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(5c) $$\tfrac{1}{3}\kappa\rho - h^2 < 0.$$

The case of plane spatial section, which was treated in the previous section, lies between these two cases, according to the equation:

(5h) $$\left(\frac{dG}{dt}\right)^2 = \frac{G_0}{G}.$$

Remark. The case of negative curvature contains as a limiting case that of vanishing ρ. For this case $\left(\frac{dG}{dt}\right)^2 = 1$ (see sketch 2). This is a case of a genuinely curved space, i.e., a space which cannot be transformed into one with constant g_{ik}; since the calculation shows that the curvature tensor does not vanish.

The case of negative curvature with nonvanishing ρ approaches this limiting case more and more closely, so that with increasing time the structure of space will be less and less determined by the matter contained in it. For this reason the case of negative curvature seems to me less satisfactory than that of positive curvature. In spite of that, the decision between these two cases remains a matter of experience.

From this investigation of the case of nonvanishing curvature results the following. For every state of nonvanishing ("spatial") curvature, there exists, as in the case of vanishing curvature, an initial state in which $G = 0$ where the expansion starts. Hence this is a section at which the density is infinite and the field is singular. The introduction of such a new singularity seems problematical in itself.[5]

It appears, further, that the influence of the introduction of a spatial curvature on the time interval between the start of the expansion and the drop to a fixed value $h = \frac{G'}{G}$ is negligible in its order of magnitude. This time interval may be obtained by elementary calculations from (5*h*), which we shall omit here. We restrict ourselves to the observation of an expanding space with

[5] However, the following should be noted: The present relativistic theory of gravitation is based on a separation of the concepts of "gravitational field" and of "matter." It may be plausible that the theory is for this reason inadequate for very high density of matter. It may well be the case that for a unified theory there would arise no singularity.

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vanishing ρ. This, as mentioned before, is a special case of negative spatial curvature. The second equation of (5) yields (considering the reversal of sign of the first member):

$$G' = 1.$$

Hence (for suitable initial point for x_4)

$$G = x_4$$

$$h = \frac{G'}{G} = \frac{1}{x_4} \quad . \quad . \quad . \tag{6a}$$

Hence this extreme case yields for the duration of the expansion the same result as the case of vanishing spatial curvature (see Eq. 6) except for a factor of order of magnitude 1.

The doubts mentioned in connection with Eq. (6), namely that this would give such a remarkably short duration for the development of the stars and systems of stars which are observable at present, cannot therefore be removed by the introduction of a spatial curvature.

Extension of the Above Considerations by Generalization of the Equation with Respect to Ponderable Matter

For all the solutions reached up to now, there exists a state of the system at which the metric becomes singular ($G = 0$) and the density ρ becomes infinite. The following question arises: Could not the rise of such singularities be due to the fact that we introduced matter as a kind of dust which does not resist condensation? Did we not neglect, without justification, the influence of the random motion of the single stars?

One could, for example, replace dust whose particles are at rest relative to each other, by one whose particles are in random motion relative to each other like the molecules of a gas. Such matter would offer a resistance to adiabatic condensation which increases with that condensation. Will not this be able to prevent the rise of infinite condensation? We shall show below that such a modification in the description of matter can change nothing of the main character of the above solutions.

"Particle-Gas" Treated According to Special Relativity

We consider a swarm of particles of mass m in parallel motion.

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By a proper transformation this swarm can be considered at rest. The spatial density of the particles, σ, is then invariant in the Lorentz sense. Related to an arbitrary Lorentz system

$$T^{uv} = m\sigma \frac{dx^u}{ds}\frac{dx^v}{ds} \tag{7}$$

has invariant meaning (energy tensor of the swarm). If there exist many such swarms we get, by summation, for all of them:

$$T^{uv} = m \sum_p \sigma_p \left(\frac{dx^u}{ds}\right)_p \left(\frac{dx^v}{ds}\right)_p \tag{7a}$$

In relation to this form we can choose the time axis of the Lorentz system so that: $T^{14} = T^{24} = T^{34} = 0$. Further, we can obtain by spatial rotation of the system: $T^{12} = T^{23} = T^{31} = 0$. Let, further, the particle gas be isotropic. This means that $T^{11} = T^{22} = T^{33} = p$. This is an invariant as well as $T^{44} = u$. The invariant:

$$T = T^{uv}g_{uv} = T^{44} - (T^{11} + T^{22} + T^{33}) = u - 3p \tag{7b}$$

is thus expressed in terms of u and p.

It follows from the expression for T^{uv} that T^{11}, T^{22}, T^{33} and T^{44} are all positive; hence the same is true for T_{11}, T_{22}, T_{33}, T_{44}.

The equations of gravity are now:

$$\begin{aligned} 1 + 2GG'' + G^2 + \kappa T_{11} &= 0 \\ -3G^{-2}(1 + G'^2) + \kappa T_{44} &= 0. \end{aligned} \tag{8}$$

From the first it follows that here too (since $T_{11} > 0$) G'' is always negative where the member T_{11} for given G and G' can only decrease the value of G''.

From this we see that the consideration of a random relative motion of the mass points does not change our results fundamentally.

Summary and Other Remarks

(1) The introduction of the "cosmologic member" into the equations of gravity, though possible from the point of view of relativity, is to be rejected from the point of view of logical econ-

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omy. As Friedman was the first to show, one can reconcile an everywhere finite density of matter with the original form of the equations of gravity if one admits the time variability of the metric distance of two mass points.[6]

(2) The demand for *spatial* isotropy of the universe alone leads to Friedman's form. It is therefore undoubtedly the general form, which fits the cosmologic problem.

(3) Neglecting the influence of spatial curvature, one obtains a relation between the mean density and Hubble's expansion which, as to order of magnitude, is confirmed empirically.

One further obtains, for the time from the start of the expansion up to the present, a value of the order of magnitude of 10^9 years. The brevity of this time does not concur with the theories on the developments of fixed stars.

(4) The latter result is not changed by the introduction of spatial curvature; nor is it changed by the consideration of the random motion of stars and systems of stars with respect to each other.

(5) Some try to explain Hubble's shift of spectral lines by means other than the Doppler effect. There is, however, no support for such a conception in the known physical facts. According to such a hypothesis it would be possible to connect two stars, S_1 and S_2, by a rigid rod. Monochromatic light which is sent from S_1 to S_2 and reflected back to S_1 could arrive with a different frequency (measured by a clock on S_1) if the number of wave lengths of light along the rod should change with time on the way. This would mean that the locally measured velocity of light would depend on time, which would contradict even the special theory of relativity. Further it should be noted that a light signal going to and fro between S_1 and S_2 would constitute a "clock" which would not be in a constant relation with a clock (e.g. an atomistic clock) in S_1. This would mean that there would exist no metric in the sense of relativity. This not only involves the loss of comprehension of all those relations which relativity has yielded, but

[6] If Hubble's expansion had been discovered at the time of the creation of the general theory of relativity, the cosmologic member would never have been introduced. It seems now so much less justified to introduce such a member into the field equations, since its introduction loses its sole original justification — that of leading to a natural solution of the cosmologic problem.

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it also fails to concur with the fact that certain atomistic forms are not related by "similarity" but by "congruence" (the existence of sharp spectral lines, volumes of atoms, etc.).

The above considerations are, however, based on wave theory, and it may be that some proponents of the above hypothesis imagine that the process of the expansion of light is altogether not according to wave theory, but rather in a manner analogous to the Compton effect. The assumption of such a process without scattering constitutes a hypothesis which is not justified from the point of view of our present knowledge. It also fails to give a reason for the independence of the relative shift of frequence from the original frequency. Hence one cannot but consider Hubble's discovery as an expansion of the system of stars.

(6) The doubts about the assumption of a "beginning of the world" (start of the expansion) only about 10^9 years ago have roots of both an empirical and a theoretical nature. The astronomers tend to consider the stars of different spectral types as age classes of a uniform development, which process would need much longer than 10^9 years. Such a theory therefore actually contradicts the demonstrated consequences of the relativistic equations. It seems to me, however, that the "theory of evolution" of the stars rests on weaker foundations than the field equations.

The theoretical doubts are based on the fact that for the time of the beginning of the expansion the metric becomes singular and the density, ρ, becomes infinite. In this connection the following should be noted: The present theory of relativity is based on a division of physical reality into a metric field (gravitation) on the one hand, and into an electromagnetic field and matter on the other hand. In reality space will probably be of a uniform character and the present theory be valid only as a limiting case. For large densities of field and of matter, the field equations and even the field variables which enter into them will have no real significance. One may not therefore assume the validity of the equations for very high density of field and of matter, and one may not conclude that the "beginning of the expansion" must mean a singularity in the mathematical sense. All we have to realize is that the equations may not be continued over such regions.

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This consideration does, however, not alter the fact that the "beginning of the world" really constitutes a beginning, from the point of view of the development of the now existing stars and systems of stars, at which those stars and systems of stars did not yet exist as individual entities.

(7) There are, however, some empirical arguments in *favor* of a dynamic concept of space as required by the theory. Why does there still exist uranium, despite its comparatively rapid decomposition, and despite the fact that no possibility for the creation of uranium is recognizable? Why is space not so filled with radiation as to make the nocturnal sky look like a glowing surface? This is an old question which so far has found no satisfactory answer from the point of view of a stationary world. But it would lead too far to go into questions of this type.

(8) For the reasons given it seems that we have to take the idea of an expanding universe seriously, in spite of the short "lifetime." If one does so, the main question becomes whether space has positive or negative spatial curvature. To this we add the following theoretical remark, and another which relates to the empirical answer:

It has already been remarked that the field equations admit solutions for a spatially isotropic universe for which ρ vanishes. It has also been noted that every pseudospherical solution approximates this case arbitrarily closely for increasing time. For $\rho = 0$ we get $G = at$ (a = const). The corresponding (four-dimensional) curvature vanishes only for the special case $a = 0$ (G = const), but not otherwise. Hence the field equations determine space only incompletely if we do not add boundary conditions. The only possible boundary condition seems to be that of spatial closure, which excludes the above density-free solutions. This is, of course, an entirely "esthetic" argument, on which one cannot base any decision. However, it lets the case of a spatially spherical universe appear more satisfactory than that of a spatially pseudospherical universe.

From the empirical point of view the decision boils down to the question whether the expression $\frac{1}{3}\kappa\rho - h^2$ is positive (spherical case) or negative (pseudospherical case). This seems to me to be the

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most important question. An empirical decision does not seem impossible at the present state of astronomy. Since h (Hubble's expansion) is comparatively well known, everything depends on determining ρ with the highest possible accuracy.

It is imaginable that the proof would be given that the world is spherical (it is hardly imaginable that one could prove it to be pseudospherical). This depends on the fact that one can always give a lower bound for ρ but not an upper bound. This is the case because we can hardly form an opinion on how large a fraction of ρ is given by astronomically unobservable (not radiating) masses. This I wish to discuss in somewhat greater detail.

One can give a lower bound for ρ (ρ_s) by taking into consideration only the masses of radiating stars. If it should appear that $\rho_s > \frac{3h^2}{\kappa}$ then one would have decided in favor of spherical space. If it appears that $\rho_s < \frac{3h^2}{\kappa}$ one has to try to determine the share of non-radiating masses ρ_d. We want to show that one can also find a lower bound for $\frac{\rho_d}{\rho_s}$.

We consider an astronomical object which contains many single stars and which can be considered with sufficient accuracy to be a stationary system, e.g. a globular cluster (of known parallax). From the velocities which are observable spectroscopically one can determine the field of gravitation (under plausible assumptions) and thereby the masses which generate this field. The masses which are so computed one can compare with those of the visible stars of the cluster, and so find at least a rough approximation for how far the masses which generate the field exceed those of the visible stars of the cluster. One obtains thus an estimate for $\frac{\rho_d}{\rho_s}$ for the particular cluster.

Since the non-radiating stars will on the average be smaller than the radiating ones, they will tend on the average to greater

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velocities than the larger stars due to their interaction with the stars of the cluster. Hence they will "evaporate" more quickly from the cluster than the larger stars. It may therefore be expected that the relative frequency of the smaller heavenly bodies inside the cluster will be smaller than that outside of it. One can therefore obtain in $\left(\frac{\rho_d}{\rho_s}\right)_k$ (relation of densities in the above cluster) a lower bound for the ratio $\frac{\rho_d}{\rho_s}$ in the whole space. One therefore obtains as a lower bound for the entire average density of mass in space:

$$\rho_s\left[1+\left(\frac{\rho_d}{\rho_s}\right)_k\right]$$

If this quantity is greater than $\frac{3h^2}{\kappa}$ one may conclude that space is of a spherical character. On the other hand I cannot think of any reasonably reliable determination of an upper bound for ρ.

(9) Last and not least: The age of the universe, in the sense used here, must certainly exceed that of the firm crust of the earth as found from the radioactive minerals. Since determination of age by these minerals is reliable in every respect, the cosmologic theory here presented would be disproved if it were found to contradict any such results. In this case I see no reasonable solution.

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The Ignorance of the Educated

DeLancey Ferguson

I LIKE eddicated people," said an old laborer to Hugh MacDiarmid, "but the wust o 't is they be so doomed ignorant." Years ago Mark Twain confessed that the older he grew the greater became his wonder at the amount of ignorance he could hold without bursting his clothes. And the longer I live in what is quaintly called the scholarly world, the more I am impressed by what scholars don't know. In my darker moments I have been called a scholar myself, and if the possession of vast areas of ignorance is a qualification, the accusation is just. Right now, though, I am talking about other people's ignorance, and shall try to keep my own discreetly hidden. I have stolen a title which Gilbert Chesterton in Heaven no longer needs — thereby proving that I, like the colleagues whom I am about to accuse of ignorance of nature, history, literature and life, turn first to books, instead of life, for my material.

Some years ago I was walking with a fellow academician down a street in Evanston on which grew a row of noble old cottonwoods. I admired the trees, and my companion agreed. On the next block he pointed, and said, "There's another of them." "Yes," I replied, "but that's an elm." He wanted to know how I could tell. To him, I learned, oaks, elms, maples and cottonwoods were just trees, and his conjectural explanation of my uncanny ability to tell them apart was that I must once have been a Boy Scout. Like so many scholarly conjectures, this was quite untrue.

Then I began to wonder what some lines of poetry can mean to a man who doesn't know one tree from another. What does he

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make of Browning's "brushwood sheaf round the elm-tree's bole," if he has never recognized an English elm and does not know that tree's habit of sending out clusters of twigs wherever a branch has been lopped off? How much emotional impression does he get from Tennyson's poplars with their noise of falling showers, or Whitman's lilac with its heart-shaped leaves? How, even, does he explain the *voyageurs'* giving the name Bois Bleu to an island in Detroit River?

I haven't picked on this friend because such ignorance was unusual in a professor. It is only too typical. Forty-odd years ago there flourished an academic poet named William Vaughn Moody, whose verses are still included in anthologies. Moody, product of the Harvard Graduate School and a member of President Harper's first faculty at the University of Chicago, wrote "Gloucester Moors" on Cape Ann in the spring of 1900. His very title gave him away. No American uses the word "moor": Moody's descriptions make it plain that the bit of countryside he was dramatizing was a huckleberry pasture. But none of the poets he had studied at Harvard wrote about huckleberry pastures, and lots of them wrote about moors, so Moody followed tradition instead of his eyes and ears. It is on record that while working on the poem he used to bring back from his walks handfuls of the local wildflowers. A botanically knowledgeable lady at his boarding-house gave him their popular names, which he incorporated in his verse. But the lady did not mention, and no anthologist has ever noted, that Moody was as ignorant of the birds as he was of the flowers.

In his third stanza he wrote,

> Seaward the sea-gulls go,
> And the land-birds all are here;
> That green-gold flash was a vireo,
> And yonder flame where the marsh-flags grow
> Was a scarlet tanager.

Even a Ph.D. could scarcely go wrong with the gulls, and the description of the vireo might pass — possibly one appeared in the trees near the boarding-house veranda. The tanager is the give-away. Moody got his flower-names straight because he was

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able to bring home specimens. But when he saw a brilliant red-and-black bird he couldn't bring home the bird; all he could bring was the hopelessly vague description of a man not used to noticing birds. Plainly he neglected to mention where he had seen the creature, and so the lady guessed from his description that it must have been a tanager. But not even Audubon ever saw a tanager in a swamp. What Moody had really seen was a redwing. He knew that the eminent poets had adorned their verse with descriptions of nature. Being ignorant of nature, he sought knowledge at second hand, and achieved a boner.

Such knowledge, to be valid, must be bred in our bones. Housman's traveller's joy that beguiles in autumn hearts that have lost their own, Shakespeare's long purples that liberal shepherds give a grosser name, were familiar to the poets from childhood. I suspect that first-hand acquaintance with *orchis mascula* would be more helpful to a real understanding of Shakespeare than most of the variant readings of the Bad Quarto of *Hamlet*. I know that one of the first good American lyrics, Philip Freneau's "The Wild Honeysuckle," is not understood by the anthologists — and therefore not understood by most of the teachers and students who use the books — because they are ignorant of the flower described. Freneau was a Jerseyman, and in popular New Jersey usage "wild honeysuckle" means not *Lonicera*, a vine, but the native azalea, white or pink, a shrub of the woods and swamps.

But ignorance of natural history, however deplorable, is at worst a venial sin. When scholars display ignorance of essential parts of the subjects in which they profess knowledge, the matter is more serious. Not long ago, for instance, the Harvard Press issued, with a laudatory foreword by Arthur Schlesinger, *The Atlantic Migration* by the late Marcus Lee Hansen, professor of history at the University of Illinois. The book reveals the most detailed study of such obscure sources as the *Baseler Zeitung*, the *Sligo Observer*, and the *Journal du Havre*. But to his discussion of European knowledge of America during the years 1815–1830, as revealed in such publications, Professor Hansen added the following paragraph:

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The spirit of romanticism permeated fiction, poetry, philosophy and religion. The poets, Byron and Shelley, were romantic; likewise the novelists, Scott and Thackeray. They laid their scenes in far-off lands peopled with noble savages and virtuous seekers after the simple life. Many of these authors took their readers to America; and Indians, frontiersmen, and traders passed across their pages. Few writers enjoyed a greater popularity than the American Cooper. By 1830 his Leatherstocking tales had been translated into half a dozen languages, and his accounts of adventures in the northern woods and on the western prairies thrilled thousands of readers. . . .

It would be difficult to pack more misinformation into 150 words. In 1830 Shelley was unknown to the general public; Thackeray, aged nineteen, had written nothing. No Indians, frontiersmen, or traders ever appeared in the works of any of the four authors named; their most exotic scenes were laid in the Near East, where noble savages and simple-lifers are a negligible part of the population. Even the reference to Fenimore Cooper is an understatement, for in 1833 Samuel F. B. Morse declared that Cooper's novels were published in translation, as soon as written, in thirty-four different cities of Europe, with Jerusalem and Ispahan thrown in for good measure. Professor Hansen had never read, nor even looked up the dates of, the authors he mentioned, and neither Professor Schlesinger nor the editorial staff of the Harvard Press noticed the boner.

Historians have told me, with some pride, that they never read novels, particularly historical novels, lest the reading distort their views. Yet creative literature is the clearest expression of the way people feel about themselves and their country. The eighteenth-century statesman who said he got all he knew of English history from reading Shakespeare had a sound idea, after all. He may have been ignorant of a good many facts about King John and the Wars of the Roses, but he knew how the great Elizabethans felt about them, which was more important. If people read poetry and fiction instead of history, it is mainly the fault of the historians, who, to avoid the stigma of teaching an art, have labeled their subject a social science and have succeeded in giving it the dryness of a science without the precision.

The scientific method of writing history is to gather all the

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facts possible, without ever expressing an opinion about them or seeking to make them interesting. For instance, I, like millions of other American pupils, had to memorize the list of the territorial acquisitions of the United States. Among these was the Gadsden Purchase. But no textbook, and no teacher, ever explained why a patch of desert which could have been had for nothing in 1848 was worth ten million dollars in 1853. Not until years later did I learn that within four years from the discovery of gold in California men were planning transcontinental railways, and that the Gadsden tract had to be bought because the most practicable southern rail route followed the left bank of the Gila River. If textbooks gave fewer facts, and took the space to explain what they mean, students would be likelier to remember them.

It is impossible for any man with a brain to study facts without coming to conclusions about them. Few historical conclusions can be wholly certain, because so much depends on the interpretation of documents, the authors of which cannot be questioned as to the ideas they had in the backs of their minds when they wrote. But no one has ever written readable history who wasn't willing to extend his neck and express his judgments, right or wrong. People read Bernard DeVoto, as they once read Macaulay, because they like a man who has ideas and states them forcibly, not to say belligerently. Nor does the possession of opinions necessarily connote inaccuracy. The work of Francis Parkman, and the Trevelyans, readable though it is, withstands the scrutiny of the scientific school. If our university historians would let themselves rip, after first learning the rudiments of English composition, they would have readers.

But the historians, burrowing in their mounds of footnotes, are not the only scholars who have betrayed learning by confounding the essential with the non-essential. A couple of generations ago the teachers of the classics, led by George Martin Lane, introduced what they called the "Roman" pronunciation of Latin. The classics already were under attack, as waste of student time. The teachers' real job was to make their subject alive, so that students might realize that they were learning something about their own lives in the act of studying Roman ones. No one

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can ever know how Latin sounded when Cicero and Virgil spoke it. Even were the laws of language inflexible enough to make certain the value of every Roman vowel and consonant, we still would have no clue to Roman sentence rhythm. A modern Englishman has no notion how Robert Frost's poetry sounds to an American, though the Englishman may nevertheless read and admire Frost. The teachers, though, established their new pronunciation — and made everybody self-conscious. The familiar Latin tags dropped out of speech because their users were afraid of exposing ignorance by mispronunciation, and Latin for the first time became a really dead language. There was nobody to tell the teachers what Thomas Lounsbury told Wilbur Cross, when the latter asked if Chaucer's own pronunciation was compulsory in the Yale survey course: "If you know how the English language was pronounced in Chaucer's time, you are the only man who knows. But if you wish to adopt that sort of bastard pronunciation of Chaucer now current, you are perfectly free to do so."

Lounsbury knew that to confound essential with non-essential, to devote to theories of pronunciation or the form of footnotes the energies that belong to the intellectual and spiritual content of the material studied, is the mark of the pedant, not the scholar. Of course, so long as teachers have to be recruited from the human race there will be pedants among them. But even pedants can be well informed; the specialist's tendency to know more and more about less and less can be modified under pressure.

At present, though, the literary scholar's ignorance of history neatly balances the historian's ignorance of literature. As it applies specifically to the modern literary critic, Mr. DeVoto has developed this thesis with considerable heat in *The Literary Fallacy*. But Mr. DeVoto's own fallacy is in giving his thesis too limited a scope, and in apparently assuming that he has discovered a weakness peculiar to moderns. If he would reread his Matthew Arnold, he would discover precisely the same myopia he attributes to Van Wyck Brooks. To Arnold, the mid-Victorian era was an age that half believed its half-beliefs, and he himself was a foiled circuitous wanderer between two worlds, one dead,

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the other powerless to be born. One searches his poetry and prose in vain for appreciation of the artists, saints, heretics, crusaders, scientists, statesmen, who were his contemporaries — Disraeli, Lister, Huxley, Bradlaugh, Morris, Trollope, Browning, Newman — the mighty men who made the Victorian age one of the greatest in English intellectual history. It is nothing new for a literary critic sadly to take his seat upon the intellectual throne while the great life of the world pulses unheeded around him.

The fallacy of Mr. Brooks's writing, says Mr. DeVoto, is that "it is criticism of books, out of books, by the sole means of books, to the sole end of books." What he fails to mention is that this fallacy is just as prevalent, and far more damaging, in the teaching of literature than in its criticism. Few people, except other critics, read literary criticism, but every college student is exposed to myopic teachers. Lacking the basic knowledge which would link literature to the life which produced it, such teachers concentrate on what they call critical history, which means detailing what one critic said about what another critic said about the text under discussion. Examples are so numerous that it is invidious to single out one specimen, but in a widely used anthology of Victorian poetry I find this comment on the absurd stanza in which Tennyson professed still to be hopeful,

> . . . though thrice again
> The red fool-fury of the Seine
> Should heap her barricades with dead.

"The reference," say the editors, "may be to the revolution of July, 1830. . . . Genung thinks that Tennyson had in mind the French revolutionary movement of 1848." Tennyson wrote in 1850. Within sixty years France had undergone three major revolutions, and Tennyson of course was thinking of all three, as the most elementary knowledge of history should have made plain to Genung and the editors.

Many graduate schools nowadays stress what they call the history of ideas. It is a valid approach to literature, if not overdone, but too often it concerns itself with the secondary, instead of the primary, ideas of the periods studied. Ideas which to men of other ages were closer than breathing, nearer than hands and

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feet, are touched lightly, or ignored. People study Chaucer, Dante, the medieval French romances, without ever studying or understanding the feudal tradition and the doctrines and discipline of the Roman Catholic Church. They study the thought of Milton without knowing the thought of Calvin. Not long ago I attended the final examination of a Ph.D. candidate who had presented a long thesis on the works of Jeremy Taylor. A matter discussed in detail was Taylor's views on religious toleration, but when the candidate was asked how Taylor's own Church defined the permissible limits of toleration, it turned out that he had never read the Thirty-nine Articles, nor did he know how many versions of the Creed are included in the Book of Common Prayer. Though the candidate had exhaustively studied the polemic and apologetic literature of Taylor's generation, his director had never thought of telling him to study the book which from earliest childhood had been central in Taylor's religious life and thought.

It is not easy for an American to think himself into an Englishman's or a Frenchman's skin, especially if the American has not been bred in the Roman or the Anglican tradition. But if we are really to understand the literature we profess to teach, we must deliberately set ourselves to learn those things about British and Continental life which the natives acquire with their mothers' milk. In the almost perfect university, no candidate would be admitted to the doctorate in literature or history until after he had lived for six months or a year in the country whose works he was to interpret.

And when I say lived there, I mean lived there, and not just studied there. It is possible to spend months and years abroad without learning anything of the people. The late Irving Babbitt once wrote an essay on "Lights and Shades of Spanish Character." He had, he said, spent several months traveling on foot through Spain, yet for all the interest he revealed in Spanish people he might as well have stayed home in Cambridge. His method of interpreting Spanish character was to quote something from a book by a Spaniard, and back the quotation with another from a book about Spain. No wonder his "humanism" won few

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followers, for he was the embodiment of a once famous character of Kipling's, and the reader closes his pages with the unspoken valediction, "The God that you took from a printed book be with you, Tomlinson!" The ideal student I have mentioned would spend his time abroad not in reading books but in meeting all sorts and conditions of men, in village and city. He would spend more time in theatres than in libraries; above all, he would go to church. Then he would at least be incapable of saying, as the anthologists above quoted say, that "the communion altar or table is often placed in the chancel of an English church." Nor would he, like the eminent scholar whom I once heard read a paper on the Scottish eighteenth century, mispronounce half the Scots proper names.

The obvious retort to this idealistic program is that, apart from its expense, it would still further prolong the time needed for obtaining an advanced degree. Not necessarily. In that ideal university the student would spend more time on great authors, and less on their critics, and his teachers would admit at the start that much which we call knowledge is nothing but agreed-upon convention to cover our ignorance or to fill in the time in the lecture room. Examinations would be based on the primary texts, and would test the student's acquaintance with the life they mirror by requiring him to explain their topical, geographical, political, religious, and dietetic allusions, instead of just their literary ones. Besides his months abroad, the student would have spent several summers learning about America by working in factory or harvest field. He would realize the importance of being versed in country things; he would know how his working-day unscholarly compatriots live and talk and think. "The scholar," said Harvard's greatest alumnus, "loses no hour which the man lives." And until scholars have learned to live, their teaching will continue to be an erudite parlor game, instead of the interpretation of life.

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The Casualties

Don Gordon

Guardians of the archives: add the notable faces
of the men who stay at home in the course of war.

Discarded by the calendar or the shape of the bony
structure or the eye not bright enough to be shot,

None the less there are casualties never fired upon,
concussions that do not cave in the brain for years.

The day a great action is fought by others, weigh
in atomic scales the value a man sets on his life;

Measure on the micrometer his height and security
when the hospital ship is moored to the side
of the metropolis;

Fortunate, it is said, to be safe on the exploding
earth, endangered only by something smokeless
that blows up in the heart.

A sickness falls upon the half world in time of war,
subnormal temperatures drown the will in their cold lakes.

The useful warmth only resumes its flow in casualties
who state the facts:

We are responsible for the battles we do not fight,
for the ashes of the alien towns we have not seen,
for the eyeless and the graves we do not share.

◎ DON GORDON'S poem "Occupied Country" appeared in the Autumn 1944 issue of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR. He is the author of a recently published collection of poems entitled *Statement*.

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The Two Harlems

Arna Bontemps

IN some places the autumn of 1924 may have been an unremarkable season. In Harlem it was like a foretaste of paradise. A blue haze descended at night and with it strings of fairy lights on the broad avenues. From the window of a small room in an apartment on Fifth and 129th Street I looked over the rooftops of Negrodom and tried to believe my eyes. What a city! What a world!

And what a year for a colored boy to be leaving home the first time! Twenty-one, sixteen months out of college, full of golden hopes and romantic dreams, I had come all the way from Los Angeles to find the job I wanted, to hear the music of my taste, to see serious plays and, God willing, to become a writer. The first danger I recognized that fall, however, was that Harlem would be too wonderful for words. Unless I was careful, I would be thrilled into silence.

It did not take long to discover that I was just one of many young Negroes arriving in Harlem for the first time and with many of the same thoughts and intentions. Within a year or two we began to recognize ourselves as a "group" and to become a little self-conscious about our "significance." When we were not too busy having fun, we were shown off and exhibited and presented in scores of places, to all kinds of people. And we heard their sighs of wonder, amazement, sometimes admiration when it was whispered or announced that here was one of the "New Negroes."

Nothing could have been sweeter to young people who only a few weeks or months earlier had been regarded as anything but

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remarkable in Topeka and Cleveland and Eatonville and Salt Lake City — young people who, more often than otherwise, had seemed a trifle whacky to the home folks. In Harlem we were seen in a beautiful light. We were heralds of a dawning day. We were the first-born of the dark renaissance. We were not just struggling artists trying to find ourselves.

No, there was something special about being young and a poet in Harlem in the middle 'twenties. We couldn't quite explain it, so some of us explored Gurdjieff and several other romantic philosophies of our time for an answer. What *was* our secret?

One of our advocates on Park Avenue made an interesting suggestion. Primitive man, she said, had contacts with the infinite which civilization has broken. Primitive man was sharper, more acute in his intuitions. Relying always on logic and reason, civilized man has lost the one thing most essential. In America the Indian and the Negro are nearer to the unspoiled primitive than are other people. The Indian's spirit is crushed. The Negro — well, see for yourself!

Up and down the streets of Harlem untamed youngsters were doing a wild dance called the Charleston. They were flitting over the sidewalks like mad while their companions, squatting nearby, beat out tom-tom rhythms on kitchenware. The unsuspecting stranger who paused to observe the performance was in danger of being surrounded, shoved into their circle and compelled to attempt a camel walk.

At parties, in ballrooms and on neighborhood stages the older people proved that age, or lack of it, had nothing to do with this joy, this abandon, this — primitivism. They proved it, too, at house rent parties where they drank bathtub gin, ate pig's knuckles and danced with the lights off.

Darkness brings the jungle to our room. . . .
Darkness hangs our room with pendulums
Of vine. . . .

The link with the jungle was obvious. In the little house-front churches there was swaying and moaning and shouting. Wasn't that proof? On a voodoo island such behavior would be called *possession*. Would it be any more real or complete than this? No,

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the American Negro, our friend insisted, was not quite civilized, fortunately. In his play and in his worship his wildness was still apparent. In his work and his art it had almost disappeared.

The "New Negro" was to recapture this definite, though sometimes dim, quality in poetry, painting and song. By this means he must transmit it to all of America. Through us, no less, America would regain a certain value that civilization had destroyed. The idea intoxicated us. We went to work zealously, and some Americans saw the things we did. And the miracle of the whole notion was that it came so near taking root. Our group came within an inch of giving America, if not as much as our friend from Park Avenue had hoped, at least a certain new aesthetic value. It came close to repeating in the United States, say, what the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood had done in England two generations or so earlier.

The gusto and flavor of Zora Neal Hurston's story telling, for example, long before the yarns were published in *Mules and Men* and other books, became a local legend which might easily have spread further under slightly different conditions. A tiny shift in the center of gravity could have made the books best sellers. And it is easy to see now how the startled surprise that greeted the poems of Countee Cullen and the wonderment that followed the discovery of Langston Hughes's completely effortless lyrics might have taken other directions and given the young poets an even wider vogue than they enjoyed at first. The same, or more, could have happened to the stylized figures in Aaron Douglas' drawings. His book jackets and illustrations were followed by household decorations, furniture designs, public murals. These might have started a trend had they gone into other rooms, different hotel lobbies, more strategically situated university libraries.

Even so, the reception which the "New Negroes" received was warmly gratifying. Most of the laurels were gathered by a small few of the group, but we were all cheered and encouraged and assured that eventually the honors would be distributed. A group credit was often included in the songs of praise. Never before in America, never since, and perhaps not for much time to come, has

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it been or will it be possible for a Negro poet to say with feeling, speaking of Harlem,

Let us roam the night together
Singing.

In those days it was said and meant.

But the "New Negroes" were keen and sensitive. Of course, none went so far as to suggest that there might be something wrong with Harlem or that the romantic concept that our group had the link with the primitive, the key to joy and intuitive understanding, might be a little far-fetched, but now and then one of us would say a shocking thing, almost beyond understanding. I remember, for example, that one of the young people said that he thought it fitting that a creative artist should die young. He himself wanted all his work crowded into the next few years. He wouldn't care to live a day beyond the age of forty.

Langston Hughes, less inclined toward self-analysis but sharper in his intuitions than most of the group, sometimes imagined that he would have his fill much sooner:

Be kind to me,
Oh, great dark city . . . .
I will not come
To you again.

Or:

The calm,
Cool face of the river
Asked me for a kiss.

But why — why this note in the music of the "New Negro"?

Something was wrong. When the depression came and artists of every kind began to feel the pinch, the Harlem group was not excluded. "New Negroes" were scattered from Boston to Florida, from Pleasantville to Carmel-by-the-Sea, from Alabama to the pearly gates. A decade passed. Twelve years, perhaps. Then some of us thought we could safely return to see what had happened to the city that had filled us with song.

The Harlem we found in 1942 and 1943 was another place. One of the first things to shock us was the revelation that the people

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who still give the area its reputation, the people by whom Harlem is favorably known, do not live there any more. Paul Robeson and Marion Anderson are less familiar figures in Harlem than are Mrs. Roosevelt and Mayor La Guardia. Richard Wright and Countee Cullen live within shooting distance, more or less, but they are safely removed from the sounds of the streets. It takes an hour's journey for either of them to see the rooftops of Negrodom. E. Simms Campbell and W. C. Handy live on quiet hillsides, surrounded by trees and lawns. There is a hill in Harlem, a fine, proud one, to be sure, but it is not the same as theirs, and the trees and lawns are not in people's yards. Hazel Scott and Cab Calloway and Jimmy Lunceford and the rest would certainly not be moved by a poem which began, speaking of Harlem,

Let us roam the night together.

They live in Westchester.

At least one reason for avoiding the Harlem night streets in 1942 would have been the fear of muggers. Where poets went about singing in the days of the new awakening, now angry, frustrated boys prowled. Where "primitive" children had danced on the sidewalks, hungry, evil-eyed little criminals lurked in doorways. The rent party was a forgotten legend. Outlandish cults were meeting in some of the housefront churches where the moaning and shouting had formerly been spontaneous and filled with joy. What, in God's name, had happened?

To me there seemed only one explanation. No matter what else one may see there, Harlem remains what it has always been in essence: a black ghetto and a slum, a clot in the American bloodstream. And the fruit it was bearing was the fruit of the ghetto and the slum — the fruit of compulsory group segregation based on race. The children born there in the beautiful years of the middle 'twenties had grown up to be muggers and cultists.

When Harlem rioted, somewhat later, a fuller answer emerged. It is now known that a Negro soldier was shot and wounded slightly when he attempted to take the part of a Harlem *poulet* in an altercation with a white policeman in the lobby of a small hotel. The soldier's mother happened to be nearby. Word of

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mouth reports of the incident were brief, intense, untrue: a colored soldier had been shot and killed by a white policeman in the presence of the soldier's mother.

At first it seemed that the mad rage which followed this incident in Harlem was a protest and a reaction against the true reports of the kicking around, sometimes the killing, of colored soldiers in the South. It suggested to me a story I had once planned to write about a gang of tough, slum-hardened black kids in Chicago who, hearing about a lynching in Mississippi, went out and overturned the fruit cart of an Italian peddler and beat him up in a South Side alley.

This early tendency to see the riot simply as an extension of the conflict in the South seemed good enough at first. To me it seemed to sweep away the claim that the South has a special right to deal with the problem of race relations in America as it sees fit, irrespective of the interests of the nation as a whole; to maintain its caste *mores*, as it once seemed to hint that it would, in defiance, if necessary, of all the allied and axis armies. It confirmed a belief which, incidentally, I still hold, namely, that the trouble with Harlem is Atlanta. The trouble with Los Angeles is Beaumont. The trouble with Illinois is Mississippi.

The only flaw in that first impression, as it related to Harlem, is that Harlem did not riot against white people. Harlem rioted against Harlem. True, it ravaged the shops and businesses of owners who get their living in Harlem but do not live there. Likewise beyond dispute is the fact that the mob went for the symbols of exploitation and oppression, but that was not its deepest impulse. Harlem was trying to commit suicide. It was trying to uproot and destroy its ghetto existence. Harlem was sick of muggers and cultists and zoot suits. Harlem was horrified and disgusted by the fruit of the beautiful years, and in a moment of confusion and frustration it rioted against itself and tried to wipe the slate.

The young intellectuals who came to Harlem in the middle 'twenties made a wonderful discovery. They found that it is fun to be a Negro under some conditions. Those who, like myself, had grown up in mixed or predominantly white communities even

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found that some segregation can be fun, when it's completely voluntary. But the "New Negroes" have lived long enough to learn that it is never fun to be an alien. It is neither pleasant nor wholesome to be deprived of the freedom of movement or of friendship or of participation in the essential life of one's country.

Harlem must go. The American bloodstream cannot manage hard clots of such size and density. And all the other little Harlems must change. Otherwise America will be Balkanized into a nation of mutually incompatible minorities. For the ideas and plans and the vigilance and distrust necessary to hem Harlem in and to keep it there, will create or maintain other Harlems, and all of them will not be black.

On the question of democracy America must now put up or shut up.

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The Thracian Women

Rolfe Humphries

"*Lo, our despiser!*" the Thracian women cried
Because he loved Eurydice, or men,
Or maybe only loved the art of song
Found in her presence, nourished by her loss;
And they, poor creatures, hated men and song
And other women. So they hated him,
And when the stones they flung fell short, in love,
They used their hands and tore him limb from limb.

Although, in rout and revel, they would toss
Their wands to Bacchus, Attis was the one
Toward whom their covert admiration went,
Whose cult they really tended. It was he
Who brought about his own dismemberment
In desperate anguish, gouging from the groin
The guilty secrets with the sharp flint stone;
And that was how they wanted men to be.

© ROLFE HUMPHRIES' latest book of poetry, *The Summer Landscape*, was published in September, 1944. Mr. Humphries is a frequent contributor to *The New Yorker*, *Poetry*, *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, and many other publications.

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Those who hate art can never hurt it. So
The head of Orpheus floated down the stream,
Still singing, where the waves of Hebrus flow,
Still singing, not down any single river,
But all the shining streams of Time forever,
And rocks and trees and animals rejoice
In the pure virtue, the immortal voice
Through the dark nights and during sunny days.

Oh, listen! hear this music! The shrill cries
Of the Thracian women fade. The babble dies.
Hysterical modern cant inaudible,
Even the presence of our enemies
Is matter for rejoicing, praise, and praise.

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How Rhodes Scholars Are Chosen

Frank Aydelotte

I

THAT the American Rhodes Scholarships should have achieved their present degree of popularity and success is something of a miracle. When the Rhodes will was published to the world in 1902 it was received in educational circles on both sides of the Atlantic with something less than enthusiasm. Americans who wished to study abroad went habitually to Germany. Oxford University was supposed to be behind the times, and Oxford methods were looked upon with distrust. This distrust was only deepened when it came to be known that American college graduates would normally be expected to take the B.A. degree over again in one of the Honor Schools, and it did not at first add to the popularity of Oxford that men found they had all the work they could do to acquit themselves creditably in these examinations.

There were other obstacles to the successful working of the Scholarships. Free competition for appointments on a state-wide or nationwide scale was a comparatively new thing in the United States, though such competitions (due in part to the influence of the Rhodes Scholarships) have now become common. American feeling, even the feeling of college presidents, shrank a little from the brutality of an election solely on the basis of merit; and, by a kind of institutional courtesy, appointments were sometimes during the early years passed around among the colleges of a given state and hard feelings thus avoided.

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This article is an excerpt from Professor Aydelotte's forthcoming book, *The Vision of Cecil Rhodes*, to be published some months from now by Princeton University Press.

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Another obstacle was the fact that Greek and Latin were required subjects for entrance to the University of Oxford, and the choice of Rhodes Scholars was limited to men who had previously passed a qualifying examination which called for an elementary knowledge of these two languages. The average quality of the whole group of Rhodes Scholars in the early days was also lowered by the fact that the appointments were distributed equally among the states, and it was inevitable that in a given year better men would be refused in one state than were appointed in others.

The greatest difficulty of all was posed by Rhodes himself in the terms of his will, which were unorthodox both by British and by American standards. Rhodes was emphatic in his insistence that his Scholars should not be mere bookworms. He provided that they should be chosen on a fourfold basis of (1) scholastic ability and achievement, (2) character, (3) interest in their fellows and instincts for leadership, and (4) proficiency in manly outdoor sports. Rhodes' aim was clear: he wanted men who would have the personal as well as the intellectual qualifications needed to enable them to rise to positions of leadership in their various occupations, and who would above all else be men of public spirit, interested in the furtherance of the general welfare. Any comparison of individuals on the basis of these diverse requirements proved to be exceedingly difficult. Moreover, the percentage system which Rhodes suggested in his will for measuring the weight to be given to each qualification proved, for reasons which I shall explain later, to be an almost certain method of reaching the wrong result.

Had Rhodes seen these difficulties there might have been no such thing as the Rhodes Scholarships, and the world would have been the poorer on that account. His experience should be a lesson to donors that it is more important to have a great and imaginative idea than to see all the steps by which it can be realized. The obstacles which seemed so formidable in the early years of the Scholarships have now in large part been overcome because of the fact that the idea behind the Scholarships made it worth while to overcome them.

When Dr. George R. Parkin, Principal of Upper Canada Col-

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lege, Toronto, was appointed in 1902 as organizing secretary to the Rhodes Trustees, with the duty of arranging for the selection of Rhodes Scholars in all the various constituencies mentioned in the will, he proceeded to hold a series of conferences with educational authorities in the Dominions and in the United States as to the best method of selection. It was agreed in this country that there should be formed in each state of the Union a committee responsible for the selections in that state. It was further felt that the best men to comprise the committees of selection would be the presidents of the different colleges and universities. From this group Dr. Parkin chose the Committees which functioned, with such changes as were necessary, from 1904 through 1917, when elections were suspended because of the war.

No doubt the plan adopted was the best possible under the circumstances, and the Committees so organized worked well in many cases. There were, however, certain difficulties. The men whose duty it was to make the selections usually knew little or nothing about the University of Oxford, and consequently were not well fitted to judge the type of man who would be likely to profit by a Rhodes Scholarship. They were, furthermore, busy men and too often lacked time or inclination to call the Scholarships effectively to the attention of the college and of university students who might be eligible for appointment. From 1904, when the first elections were made, through 1917, when selections were stopped by the first World War, there was only one year, 1916, when all of the available appointments were made. In 1905 ten opportunities went begging, and during the period of fourteen years a total of thirty-six vacancies were not filled for want of candidates.

The lack of candidates resulted primarily from ignorance of the value of the Scholarships, but it was also caused, as I have indicated, by the fact that candidates, in order to qualify for the competition, were required to pass an elementary examination in Latin, Greek, and mathematics, equivalent to Responsions — the entrance examination to the University of Oxford. This examination, which the English public school boy took in his stride (often a year or two before he was ready to leave school for the Uni-

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versity) proved a great stumbling block to our aspirants. Of approximately two thousand candidates who took it during the fifteen years when it was required, about one thousand failed to pass. This requirement, which was abolished in 1919, narrowed the field from which Rhodes Scholars could be chosen to those men who had been fortunate enough to have some classical training, and unquestionably excluded many who on other grounds would have made admirable Rhodes Scholars. The 445 Scholars sent from the United States during the years 1904–17 were chosen from a total of about 1,000 qualified applicants, an average of about 100 candidates for 48 appointments in each year when elections were held — a condition which contrasts strikingly with the present situation, when there are 500 or 600 applicants each year for 32 appointments.

During the years from 1912 to 1917, for the reasons outlined, the success of the American Rhodes Scholarships seemed at least doubtful. After the first enthusiasm following the publication of the Rhodes will, competition had fallen off and the selections were very uneven. While the best Rhodes Scholars chosen during these years were as good as any we have ever had, there were too many who lacked any qualification for so exacting an appointment.

II

Today the Scholarships are working well. The change from threatened failure to success has been brought about by certain alterations in the method of selection, some of them revolutionary in character: (1) by the abolition of the Greek requirement and the award of Senior status without examination to graduates of approved American colleges and universities, (2) by the substitution of ex-Rhodes Scholars for college presidents as members of committees of selection, (3) by the adoption of the district plan, for which, since it seemed to run counter to the letter of the Rhodes will, authorization was obtained by act of Parliament in 1929, (4) by a reinterpretation, sanctioned by the Trustees, of the basis of selection, emphasizing distinction in some one quality as against a mere high average in all, and (5) by a careful study of

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the technique of selection and by passing on year by year to all committees the best ideas evolved by any one.

As early as 1912 ex-Rhodes Scholars in the United States had become so concerned over the lack of competition for the Rhodes Scholarships that representations were made to the Trustees concerning the desirability of drawing upon the experience of returned Scholars, both in stimulating competition and in making the selections. As a result of much discussion, carried on in the pages of the *American Oxonian* and by private correspondence, the Trustees in 1918 approved Dr. Parkin's suggestion that the overseeing of the competition in the United States be entrusted to an American Secretary, and that each Committee of Selection should be composed in the future of ex-Rhodes Scholars, except for the chairman, who should be some prominent citizen of the state outside the Rhodes Scholar group. With the resumption of the Scholarships in 1919 after the break due to the war, Committees throughout the nation were organized in this way, and have so continued down to the present.

It was apparent after the first year or two that the plan of entrusting the selection of Rhodes Scholars to ex-Scholars living in the United States had greatly improved the working of the Scholarships. The competition increased immediately from an average of about 100 candidates each year to about 500. The records of the men at Oxford after 1918 were on the average distinctly better than those of the men selected before that date, and the spectacle of valuable Scholarships going begging for lack of candidates has since 1919 been unknown.

Certain difficulties, however, the new organization of Committees failed to meet. The competition was still very unequal as between the states, and we were continually compelled to refuse in one state candidates of higher quality than the men elected to Rhodes Scholarships across the border in a state only a few miles away. Oxford Dons, seeing the best men whom we sent over, wondered how we could bring ourselves to choose the poorest, and the colleges began to be on their guard against any candidates selected from certain states, thus producing embarrassment in the matter of allotting the Rhodes Scholars among the colleges.

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The problem was discussed actively for several years in the United States, in Oxford, and in London. I had called the difficulty to the attention of the Rhodes Trustees as early as 1923, and had proposed various ways of meeting it. In my successive visits to England I had many long conversations with Lord Milner about it. In 1925 I told him that I had brought over two plans, one of which I thought was probably legal under the terms of the will, while the other, I was pretty sure, was not. "Doubtless," he replied, "the illegal plan is the better." I admitted that it was. "I think," he said, "we must have the illegal one."

The plan so stigmatized was finally adopted. It was, briefly, to abandon the system by which Committees were forced to give an equal number of Scholarships to each state regardless of the quality of the competition. It provided exactly equal opportunities to each state, but allowed committees to choose in a given year two from one state and none from another if in their judgment the merits of the candidates justified this action.

The states of the Union are, under this plan, divided into eight districts of six states each, and the thirty-two appointments available to the United States each year are divided equally among the districts, giving four to each. There is a competition every year in every state, a distinct improvement over the old plan, when each state elected Rhodes Scholars only two years out of three. Each state Committee of Selection has the power to nominate, from the candidates applying to it, two who will appear before the District Committee. The District Committee then selects, from the twelve candidates appearing before it, the four best, to represent their states as Rhodes Scholars at Oxford.

Before this plan was considered by the Trustees, I had, on their instructions, submitted it to the widest possible referendum in the United States, and it was discussed and approved by overwhelming majorities in the Association of American Rhodes Scholars, the Association of American Universities, the Association of Urban Universities, and the Association of American Colleges. In the National Association of State Universities where, as might be expected, it met with the greatest opposition, the heads of twenty-three out of forty-nine institutions expressed themselves

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in its favor. In addition the plan was approved by an impressive list of officers and trustees of the great educational foundations.

With this evidence before them the Trustees sent Lord Lothian, who was then Secretary of the Rhodes Trust, to the United States for a five months' trip at the end of 1928, and on the basis of his report they decided to adopt the plan. Since there was some question as to whether it was legal under the terms of the Rhodes will, an act of Parliament was passed in May, 1929, authorizing the plan. Its provisions were put into force in the elections of 1930.

The anticipated benefits under the District plan of selection have been more than realized. The record of the American Rhodes Scholars in the Honor Schools at Oxford, which had from the beginning been better than that of the average Honors man, now approaches, so far as First classes are concerned, the record of the Englishmen who win open Scholarships in the Oxford colleges by competitive examinations. In First and Second classes taken together, the American record is the better. The class sent to Oxford in 1932, which made the best record at Oxford of any group of American Rhodes Scholars so far, equals the English Scholarship holders in First classes and far exceeds them in First and Seconds combined. This comparison leaves out of account altogether nearly one fourth of the Rhodes Scholars who take research degrees and who are probably the strongest and best prepared men of the group.

This improvement in academic results has not been at the expense of the other qualities desired by Rhodes. Concerning qualities of character and leadership no statistics can have meaning, and I can only record the impression that the Warden of Rhodes House has — that these men are held in respect in their colleges, and are frequently elected to such positions as Head of Junior Common Room or captain of a crew or team. As to athletics, amazingly enough, the academic improvement has been accompanied by an increase of 50% in the number of Blues.

The distribution of Rhodes Scholars among the states under the District plan has, as might be expected, followed roughly the figures for population, with, however, the advantage distinctly on the side of the smaller states. The ten states receiving the largest

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number of Rhodes Scholarships *in proportion to their population* since 1930 are Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, Montana, Oregon, Arizona, Delaware, Vermont, Maine, and North Dakota. The five states which have a population of over 5,000,000 each, California, Ohio, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and New York, stand respectively 28th, 37th, 41st, 44th, and 45th in the list.

Between 1930 and 1939 (when elections were again stopped by war) under the old plan each state would have appointed six Scholars. Exactly 24 of the 48 states have exceeded this number and 24 fallen short of it. California heads the list with 14, while South Carolina stands at the bottom with one. There is a similar discrepancy in the number of ex-Rhodes Scholars who live in the various states after their return, seven states having four or fewer, while six have 40 or more.

III

The selection of men for any important task is a highly expert job, and the choosing of Rhodes Scholars is particularly so because of the youth of the candidates, the boundless possibilities of the opportunity, and the fact that the Scholarships are open to men planning all subjects of study and all possible careers. To make such choices wisely, members of committees must understand and sympathize with the ideas which Rhodes had in mind in founding the Scholarships; they must be wise judges of human nature; they must be wholly free from prejudice; they must take their job seriously and work at it faithfully; they must use intuition as well as reason, and they must have had experience at their task.

When the members of a state committee assemble to make their selections, they have before them a pretty complete dossier concerning each candidate: a photograph, a birth certificate, an official endorsement from the candidate's college or university, a certified copy of his academic record, a medical certificate, a list of the candidate's achievements and honors in athletics and extracurricular activities, and a connected statement by the candidate of his general activities and intellectual interests in college, and his proposed line of study at Oxford. This last document is the most important and most revealing of all the material fur-

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nished by the candidate. The way in which a man writes about his interests, about his college work and his plans for the future, gives the committee some insight into the working of his mind, and this statement inevitably raises many questions upon which the committee will seek further light in the personal interview.

The committee has in addition from five to eight confidential letters from the teachers and friends of the candidate concerning his qualifications for a Rhodes Scholarship. The candidate does not obtain these letters himself. Instead he furnishes the secretary of the committee of selection with a list of names of men to whom the secretary can address an inquiry. This inquiry is a very carefully composed form-letter, the same for all committees. It contains a solemn undertaking, made on behalf of the Rhodes Trustees, that the reply will be treated as strictly confidential; the applicant will never see what is written about him, whether he obtains a Scholarship or not. The request for information is made as specific as possible. The individual addressed is asked to speak only about matters which he knows at first hand; he is asked to comment on the weaknesses of the candidate, as well as on his strong qualities; and the letter of inquiry contains an intimation that committees will be inclined to discount a recommendation which implies that the person recommended has no weaknesses whatsoever.

When the members of the committees of selection meet, their first task is to study this material. It is becoming more and more the custom among state committees to hold a preliminary meeting for this purpose. Where the number of candidates is large, the committee eliminates a certain number on the basis of credentials and summons to the personal interview only those who seem to have a real chance of an appointment.

The next step in the selection process is the conduct of personal interviews with the twelve or fifteen men who have survived the preliminary elimination on the basis of credentials. The personal interview is at once the most useful and most difficult task before the committee. These interviews will usually be planned in advance. The papers of each candidate will raise as many questions as they answer. The committee will have noted these questions

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and will probably have designated some member to take the lead in the questioning. The purpose of the interview is not to conduct an examination in the academic sense: it is rather to discover the quality of the mind and character of the aspirant, his intellectual interests, his personal traits, and all that range of qualities which can never be adequately demonstrated by academic marks or the record of past achievements — in short, his promise for the future.

In the conduct of these interviews the one golden rule is that the candidate should be put at his ease, that the committee should seem to be interested rather in his strong points than in his weaknesses. The interview is not a cross examination, it is not an attempt to demonstrate to the candidate his unfitness for a Rhodes Scholarship, but rather the exact opposite: the friendliest possible effort to bring out his strongest qualities. If his best is good enough it does not matter what gaps there may be in his preparation; he will make them up in his stride.

The conversation between the candidates and the members of the committee may and should range over a wide field of topics. It will naturally center around the experiences and interests of the candidate, his plans for study at Oxford and for his career in the future. Certain subjects are more or less taboo, such as personal habits in regard to alcohol or tobacco, personal beliefs in religion, and party politics.

Another and more difficult taboo concerns questions which call upon the candidate for embarrassing self-analysis. The best men will be naturally and rightly shy about avowing their deepest motives and most cherished ideals. Committees are rightly skeptical about those who, in this realm, profess too much. Careful judgment and nice taste are required of members of the committee in framing their questions to keep the discussion objective and not to put the candidate into a position where he must appear to himself as either over-sophisticated or over-sentimental.

In the *Review of Reviews* for May, 1902, W. T. Stead reports a discussion between Rhodes, Hawksley, and himself, as to the ideal balance of qualities in a Rhodes Scholar and the means by which these might be obtained. By allowing so many marks for each quality they evolved in their conversation a method by which the

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final selection became merely a matter of arithmetic. Although Rhodes suggested this schedule of marks in his will, fortunately this method of choice was never strictly prescribed by him. It would have been the surest way to secure mediocre men. Stead's admission that the winning candidate under his system might not be the top boy in any one category shows the weakness of the plan. The first qualification for a Scholar who is to measure up to Rhodes's standard is that he should be *first in something*. All 'round ability of the highest class is so rare as to be negligible. The price of excellence is some degree of specialization. Selections which are based upon averages rather than upon excellence in some particular respect will almost certainly produce mediocre men.

There is no formula which can be counted upon to work automatically in the selection of men of the high quality which Rhodes wanted for his Scholars. Rhodes himself never chose a man for any post by such a mechanical procedure. It is only by such flexible methods as those now prescribed by the Trustees, administered by men of wisdom and judgment, who understand and believe in the Rhodes ideal, that Scholars can be chosen who will acquit themselves creditably at Oxford and in their careers in after life, and who will at the same time aspire to more than individual success — who will, in Rhodes's words, "esteem the performance of public duties as their highest aim."

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Why Suffrage Discrimination?

Boyd A. Martin

THE recent attempt by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and certain members of the Congress to get national legislation (Green-Lucas Bill) providing for streamlining absentee voting procedures, waiver of personal registration and of the poll tax, and of other irregular state qualifications for service men, reemphasized the urgent need for a clarification of our suffrage theory. It is evident that America needs to establish a uniform suffrage doctrine based on democracy, and then to adopt legal measures guaranteeing uniform application of the doctrine. The present state qualifications, resulting in wide discrimination among adult, literate, American citizens is a reflection on American government. Lincoln stated one of the great doctrines of American democracy in his Gettysburg address: ". . . government of the people, by the people, for the people" — a doctrine that implies universal suffrage. With an increase of 8,000,000 in four years, the Census Bureau estimates that America now has 88,666,555 potential voters. But America does not have universal suffrage as envisaged by Lincoln, and America did not have 88,666,555 voters in November, 1944. Numerous effective suffrage limitations prevent complete ". . . government of the people, by the people, for the people," so that approximately only 47,000,000 of the 88,666,555 potential voters were able to cast votes in 1944.

There is no reason why an eighteen-year-old girl in Georgia should be allowed to vote for Congressmen and (indirectly) for the President and the Vice-President when a twenty-year-old boy in forty-seven states would be denied the same privilege.

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Nor is there a sound reason why a citizen of Alabama, too poor financially to pay all poll taxes owed since 1901, should be denied this voting privilege when a citizen in any one of forty states with the same financial difficulty may vote for national officers. Why should an illiterate citizen of New York be denied the privilege of voting for national officers when an illiterate citizen of Iowa is allowed to vote for them? Why should soldiers of some states be permitted to vote for Congressmen, for the President and the Vice-President, when soldiers from other states are denied that opportunity merely because the states of their citizenship fail to provide adequate absentee voting provisions? Or why should South Carolina, a poll tax state, have only 14.1 per cent of its adults vote in 1936 as compared with 92.1 per cent in West Virginia, which has no poll tax? In 1940, 21.1 per cent of the potential voters in the poll tax states voted, while 59 to 70 per cent of the potential voters in the other forty states voted. These conditions indicate the urgency of clarification and the uniform application of suffrage qualifications for citizens of the United States of America for the election of national officers.

The need of a suffrage doctrine is essential to meet the test of democracy. The present confused state of suffrage theories is due partly to our tendency to confuse such terms as citizen, people, and electorate. Lincoln spoke of government of the people, and by the people. Did he mean government by the citizens, by the people, or by the electorate? The terms do not have the same meaning. In America a citizen is a person born or naturalized in the United States. The people include all persons in the country, including both nationals of the United States and non-nationals such as declarants, aliens, and stateless persons. The electorate is the body of *qualified* voters who may vote and make public decisions. But neither citizenship nor membership as one of the people entitle one to the privilege of being a member of the electorate. Thus the American government is a government of the electorate and not of the citizens or the people.

What do Americans mean by the term democracy? Etymo-

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logically democracy has meant government by the people since the time of Plato and Aristotle. Democracy cannot be fully attained without the establishment of universal suffrage. America has democracy to the extent that the electorate corresponds to the people, and to that extent only.

I

Examination of the development of the degree of democratization of suffrage attained to date reveals the absence of a consistent theory of suffrage. Six theories of suffrage have been advanced since the start of the democratization of suffrage.[1] Traces of all six can be found in contemporary American suffrage qualifications. Briefly, these theories are as follows. First, the theory that suffrage is an attribute or function of citizenship. This doctrine was used by primitive people, in early Greek and Roman city-states, and later in the Renaissance. All Roman citizens, except freedmen, had the right of *suffragium*. Second, the feudal theory that suffrage is a vested privilege, one usually resulting from the ownership of land or some particular economic status. This doctrine was widely used in the American colonies and the early states. Third, that suffrage is a natural right incident to the abstract right of man in natural law. This theory was developed as a part of the concept of popular sovereignty advanced by the social contract theorists. It has been widely acclaimed in democratic countries. Fourth, that suffrage is a function of government just as legislation is a function of government. This implies that the electorate is an organ of government (a fourth branch) just as the legislature is an organ of government. Fifth, that suffrage, ethically, is a necessary process for the proper development of the individual's personality and character. Sixth, that suffrage is a privilege conferred by the state and may be widened or curtailed by the state in the interest of the state.

A cursory examination of English suffrage history discloses that the English, on acts of 1430 and 1432, used the economic

[1] The author is partially indebted to the articles by Professor N. G. Shepard "Suffrage," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 14 (1934), pp. 447–450, and "The Theory of the Nature of the Suffrage," *American Political Science Review*, Proceedings, Vol. 7 (1913), pp. 106–136, for the first five theories of suffrage here presented.

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privilege theory of suffrage until 1918, largely as an incident to the holding of land or rent paying. A series of reform measures, starting in 1832, gradually abolished property qualifications and in 1918 women were given the privilege of voting. As the suffrage laws now stand, about 70 per cent of the population can vote regardless of property or sex if the person (1) is a citizen, (2) is twenty-one years old, and (3) has resided in his constituency from three to six months.

A brief survey of the development of suffrage in the United States reveals that this country has not adopted a uniform theory of the franchise. All six of the above enumerated theories appear. Extension of the suffrage has come basically through political expediency and not as the result of the impelling logic of any one or all of the theories. Popularization of the franchise came synchronously with the development of a middle class and then a working class. The theories were used as rationalization to justify the political expediency.

Before the Revolution, seven of the thirteen rebelling colonies had very rigid property qualifications incident to land.[2] Residence and citizenship were not important items then as there was little interstate migration and new immigrants from Europe were not required to prove citizenship. But the property qualification remained in force for years. North Carolina, the last of the original thirteen states to repeal the property qualification, did not do so until 1856. Taxpaying qualifications were retained by all the states repealing the property qualification and were required until the Civil War. It is evident that these states had lost sight of, or had never realized the meaning of the Declaration of Independence: "*Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed* [italics are the author's], that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form. . . ."

[2] For factual data on voting qualifications from before the Revolution to the Civil War, the author has relied on the excellent and comprehensive work of Kirk H. Porter, *A History of Suffrage in the United States* (1918).

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Racial exclusion came long before the Civil War. Six Northern states had never excluded the free Negroes from the electorate, six Northern and Border states amended their constitutions to debar them, and fifteen Northern and Western states had always excluded them. The Reconstruction program of the Republicans from the North created the Solid South by enfranchising the Negro of the South when in 1867 only seven Northern states granted Negro suffrage. This was a political move to insure Republican supremacy for years to come. The Northern Congressmen rationalized by offering the natural rights doctrine of suffrage, but did not falter when four more Northern states rejected Negro suffrage in the same year. So the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments were passed.

The Southern whites put their constitutional talents to work and proceeded to devise methods to disfranchise the Negro and to reestablish white supremacy. The Negro was first excluded by intimidation and then by legal measures. The Southern states provided suffrage restrictions which did not discriminate against Negroes because they were Negroes, but because most Negroes and many white persons could not meet them. Such devices as long residence requirements, poll taxes, literacy tests, and finally the grandfather provision allowing persons who voted, or whose fathers or grandfathers voted, before the Negroes were freed, to place their names on the permanent registration lists without meeting the newly introduced suffrage qualifications. Slowly the Supreme Court upheld practically all these Southern suffrage qualifications except the grandfather clauses which allowed many of the newly excluded *whites* to get back on the permanent registration lists before the Court had an opportunity to declare the clauses void. With the outbreak of World War II the major portion of the Negro population of the Solid South was still disfranchised.

With the exception of the Negro, suffrage has been extended to groups that gained economic power and social position. Political expediency did not require woman suffrage before the twentieth century; women had not gained economic power, and their social position depended largely upon their husbands. Thus,

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women relied fundamentally upon the natural right theory of suffrage in their campaign for the vote. Women knew the natural right doctrine had been used as justification for the expediency involved in freeing the Negro. It did appear absurd even to a partially educated public to allow illiterate male Negroes the privilege of voting and to deny the same privilege to women, who without doubt had a higher educational level than the Negro at that time.

Also, the suffragists claimed suffrage was a privilege of citizens of the United States. But the Supreme Court held (*Minor* v. *Happersett*) that the Constitution "does not confer the right of suffrage upon any one," and that suffrage is not a privilege of citizenship. This decision made it certain that suffrage in America was neither a natural right nor a privilege of citizenship.

II

The recent congressional controversy over the use of the poll tax as a voting qualification and especially the creation of a bipartisan War Ballot Commission (Green-Lucas Bill) to supervise absentee voting by service men amply demonstrated the need of a national suffrage doctrine under national control. To many Americans it seemed ridiculous that a state could prevent an American service man or woman from voting in presidential and congressional elections. Many more Americans did not know the state has such power. Director Hadley Cantril, Office of Public Opinion Research, Princeton University, recently discovered that only 33 per cent of the American people know that the state determines voting qualifications for presidential elections; 37 per cent incorrectly believe the national government has that power; and 30 per cent admit they do not know which government determines voting qualifications for presidential elections. This means 67 per cent do not know which unit of government determines voting qualifications in presidential elections.

Like the extension of suffrage to other groups and the removal of undemocratic limitations on the privilege of voting, the unsuccessful attempt to extend suffrage to service men and women

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under national supervision was based to a large extent upon political expediency. Most members of Congress attempted to determine the political results of the service vote before announcing their stand on the issue. The Green-Lucas Bill provided for creation of a bipartisan War Ballot Commission to supervise absentee voting by the Merchant Marine, by civilian war workers, and by the Armed Forces. By Public Law 712 passed in 1942, Congress had already suspended state laws, for all service men, requiring registration and payment of poll taxes. The Green-Lucas Bill was defeated and a substitute bill, Public Law 277, was passed. Public Law 277, a compromise measure between national supervision and a pure states' rights plan, provided for the use of state ballots by service forces within the United States, except where the state did not have an absentee-ballot law; then a national short ballot is used if the governor certifies it to be authorized by the state law. The national ballot could be used by those in the service overseas if they applied for a state ballot before September 1 and did not receive it before October 1, and if their state had certified the Federal Ballot. It is obvious that this statute left with the states the final determination of whether or not the service forces should vote. This means, because of the difference in the various state laws and the great amount of necessary election machinery, approximately one-half of the Army's 6,200,000 potential voters and of the Navy's 2,400,000 potential voters could vote. As of July 15, the deadline set for approving the Federal Ballot, only seventeen states certified that the Federal Ballot was authorized by the laws of their states. The governors of twenty-two states had certified that the use of the Federal Ballot was not authorized by the laws of their states. Nine had taken no action. Thus, approximately only three-eighths of the states permitted the use of the Federal Ballot.

The attempt to permit service personnel to vote by use of the Federal Ballot and the lifting of the registration and poll tax requirements centered largely upon two issues: politics and constitutionalism. Politics was the more important of the two. The present Administration, like the Lincoln Administration, believed it would receive the support of more than a majority

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of the service people. This belief was given added support when the American Institute of Public Opinion announced on December 4, 1943, that 61 per cent of the men in uniform would vote Democratic and that the soldier vote was necessary for a Democratic victory in 1944.[3] These figures did not go unheeded. Although both sides advanced other grounds for their respective stands on this issue, both realized the significance of a large service vote.

The Senate defeated the Green-Lucas Bill by a temporary coalition of twenty-four Democrats and eighteen Republicans. It was supported by twenty-five Democrats and twelve Republicans. Those opposing the Bill did so because of its alleged violation of states' rights, even though these same Southern Democrats had voted for numerous New Deal measures which were infractions of states' rights. Most of the Republicans opposing the Bill did so on the grounds that it was unconstitutional; however, it was obvious most of them were afraid of the service vote.

The real reason for the opposition of Southern senators was the issue, not of a doctrine of democratic suffrage or states' rights, but rather of white supremacy. The Green-Lucas Bill was a threat to race segregation. If the Southern states once lose control of the power to determine suffrage qualifications the Negro can attain at least a greater degree of economic and social equality through political action. States' rights was merely the legal argument the Southern senators used to protect the continuance of race inequality.

The constitutional question of whether or not the national government can determine suffrage qualifications for electors voting for national officers is a difficult one in the American federal system, notwithstanding contemporary political expediency. The great majority of the Constitutional Fathers were fearful of too much democracy. The thirteen states had, as a result of the Revolution, established full control over suffrage. All of them

[3] Roosevelt actually won 59.3 per cent of the military vote in the seven states reporting separate returns. New York *Times*, Dec. 10, 1944.

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had very definitely restricted the electorate. Adopting a federal government, the Constitutional Fathers decided to continue state control over suffrage qualifications. The Constitutional basis of suffrage is clear — the Constitution does not confer suffrage upon anyone. Article I, section 2, clause 1, established the exclusive power of the states to determine suffrage qualifications by providing that electors in each state voting for members of the House of Representatives "shall have the qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature." Thus, any person who can vote for members of the lower house of the state legislature is entitled to vote for members of the House of Representatives. The legal power of the states to determine suffrage qualifications is limited only by three constitutional provisions. First, the Fifteenth Amendment which does not guarantee the Negro suffrage but rather, guarantees that citizens of the United States are not to be denied the right to vote on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Second, the Fourteenth Amendment provides that "when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress . . . is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged . . . the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State." This clause has never been enforced against Southern states where a large percentage of the Negro male citizens twenty-one years of age do not vote; neither has it been enforced against states, as New York, which deny adult male citizens the privilege of voting if they cannot meet the educational or literacy qualifications. Third, the Nineteenth Amendment does not guarantee woman suffrage; instead, it provides that citizens of the United States shall not be denied the right to vote by the United States or by any state on account of sex. This applies to men as well as to women.

The power of Congress to regulate elections where national

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officers are being elected should not be confused with suffrage. Congress has the power to regulate the times, places, and manner of holding elections for national officers. On the basis of this power Congress set the date for national elections, required the use of a secret ballot, and passed numerous corrupt practices acts. But this power does not include the power to determine who may vote.

The control of suffrage qualifications by the states has been sustained by the Supreme Court in a series of cases. As early as 1875 (*Minor* v. *Happersett*) the Court held that the Fourteenth Amendment, which states: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States," did not add suffrage to the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States. It merely protects citizens of the United States against the impairment by the states of the privileges and immunities they possessed before the passage of the Amendment. In 1884 (*Ex Parte* Yarbrough) the Court ruled that electors owe their right to vote for members of Congress to the Constitution and not to state law. But the Constitution (Article I, section 2) does not determine the qualifications; instead, it clearly provides that state electors permitted to vote for members of the most numerous branch of the state legislature may vote for members of the House of Representatives. In interpreting the Fifteenth Amendment (*Guinn* v. *United States*) the Court observed that the Amendment gave no right of suffrage. It does not take away from states the power over suffrage which belonged to them from the beginning. It merely restricted either the United States or the states from denying the privilege of voting on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Neither does the Nineteenth Amendment confer suffrage on anyone as a right. Thus, neither the Fifteenth nor the Nineteenth Amendment prevent the states from excluding citizens of the United States from the electorate except on grounds of sex, race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

The states in exercising their powers in determining the electorate, qualified by the Constitution as above indicated, have adopted numerous qualifications which vividly illustrate the need

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of a national electorate for electing national officers. As of June, 1943, the forty-eight states were operating under the following suffrage qualifications. Forty-seven required a minimum age of twenty-one. In 1943 Georgia, the only exception, lowered the voting age to eighteen years. All states require the voter to be a citizen of the United States. All states require residence in the state, and either in the county or in the election district or in both. Four states still use the property qualification as an alternative to other voting requirements. Twenty states require literacy. Three of these allow the voter to offer an alternative. Eight states require a poll tax. In several states the poll tax is accumulative. Twenty-seven states have permanent registration laws for all areas, twelve for some areas. Thirteen have periodic registration for either all areas or some areas. Forty-five have absentee voting provisions in some form.[4]

III

These state qualifications for suffrage obviously eliminate millions of persons from the electorate who in most cases could qualify in one or more of the other forty-seven states. The American Federal State is one in which the governments of the states and the National government are responsible to their respective constituents. The Federal government is ostensibly a responsible government. To whom is it responsible? Whom should it represent — the *people*, the *citizens*, the forty-eight different *electoral bodies* combined, or a *national electorate?* The constituents of the National government should be *on equal* suffrage basis to achieve democratic equality. This calls for a national electorate for the election of national officers which includes all persons possessing the same qualifications. Then, and only then, will the National governments be truly responsible without discrimination. This would not prevent the states from determining who may vote in elections for state and local officers.

The creation of such an electorate in a democracy requires the adoption of a definite theory of suffrage to avoid political ex-

[4] These figures on state voting qualifications are compiled from the tables in *The Book of the States*, 1943–1944, Vol. V, pp. 118–119.

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pediency. The Congress should formulate a national suffrage policy and incorporate it into a proposed constitutional amendment. A constitutional amendment is the necessary procedure to take the determination of suffrage qualifications for a national electorate for national officers away from the states. The jurisdiction of the National government extends to the problems the citizens of the forty-eight states have in common. State determination of suffrage for national electors was satisfactory so long as the United States was a union of heterogeneous semi-sovereign states. But the United States has achieved a much higher degree of national homogeneity than was possible in 1789 and many local problems of 1789 are now national problems. If these problems are nationwide and since the National government has jurisdiction over many of them and since the National government ostensibly rests on the people and not on the states, why should there not be a national electorate?

The difficulty in securing approval of a constitutional amendment should not be underestimated. Several problems are obvious. First, the Southern states and those most opposed to a national electorate, control the chairmanship of fourteen of the thirty-three standing committees of the Senate and twenty-three of the forty-seven standing committees of the House. This places them in a strategic position to oppose a Congressional resolution proposing an amendment. Second, the ten states of the Solid South in combination with three other states could prevent the ratification of the proposed amendment. Third, many people are unaware of the constitutional difficulty in creating a national electorate. However, these difficulties can be overcome by sponsoring a national movement much like the woman suffrage movement for the creation of such an electorate. Once the majority of the people realize the wisdom of its objectives the opposition could not long oppose the logic of its purposes. The proposed amendment would not meet the initial opposition that the woman suffrage amendment encountered. The amendment should not limit a state's power to determine qualifications for state elections; this provision should appease the opposition of many states.

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These Are the Hands

Samuel Yellen

These are the hands that will fail me,
And these the eyes;
These are the feet that will falter,
And this the heart;
These lungs will not hold enough breath
To stain a glass;
Each tube, each valve, each hinge
Will come apart.

This jelly of starch and albumen
Will shrink and collapse;
Where now this order prevails,
There then will be
No balance of fuel against ash,
No growth, no repair,
But another, a different kind
Of chemistry.

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Writing in New Zealand

J. A. W. Bennett

IF, AS I am assured, Browning Societies still flourish in America, their members probably make up most of the reading public in this country who can claim acquaintance with any part of New Zealand literature outside of the stories of Katherine Mansfield. In the course of elucidating Browning's *Waring* —

> What's become of Waring
> Since he gave us all the slip? —

they must have discovered that "Waring" was Alfred Domett, who had gone off to try his fortunes in New Zealand, and to write the first and only New Zealand epic. His *Ranolf and Amohia* (1872) could still be picked up second-hand a few years ago. It gives an Enoch-Ardenish picture of the virgin bush and boiling pools of the North Island (where Domett lived for many years, becoming commissioner of crown lands and, for a few months, Prime Minister), while the opening chapters of *Erewhon* include a fine description of the mountain ranges of the South, and show that Samuel Butler did not waste his four years in the Canterbury settlement. Whatever the dangers and discomforts of life a century ago in this new country at the end of the world, it is clear that they did not prevent immigrants (among them was De Quincey's son, and Charles Armitage Brown, the friend of Keats) from setting pen to paper.

But for the first fifty years there is little enough to record by way of literary history beyond the visits of eminent Victorians (Trollope and J. A. Froude) and a whirlwind lecture tour by Mark Twain in a bad temper. None of the visitors hesitated to point out

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what was raw and wrong — "sly-grogging," devilish roads, the reckless waste of the finest trees in the world. Sir George Grey, perhaps the equal of any Victorian in mental and political stature, came to govern and stayed to translate Maori myths into good English. In due course a Cabinet minister, William Pember Reeves, chronicled and evaluated the first seventy years in supple and dignified prose: *The Long White Cloud* (1898, 1924) is still the best account of the country's early social and political development.

After Anzac Day, 1915, had put a new rubric in the calendar it was hard for the rest of the Empire to ignore this vigorous and sudden growth. Kipling had sung our praises ("Last, loneliest, loveliest, exquisite, apart . . ."). The days of clay roads, bullock wagons and gold rushes were passing. A few "colonials" began to look about them — to discover that among the immigrants had slipped in those ugly twin sisters, Puritanism and Provincialism, who (as E. K. Brown lately hinted) have tried to make a home in at least one other British dominion. Cold-shouldered in England, the twins frisked and flourished in a country that seemed ready to ogle whenever a tourist murmured, "the Britain of the South." Soon they took to teaching, and turned everything somersault. Children who had never seen a chaffinch or a church-clock dutifully learned by heart "Grantchester" or "Home Thoughts from Abroad." If, when they grew up, they aspired to write or study, they shook the colonial dust from off their feet and made the pilgrimage "Home" from which too few returned.

In the life of Katherine Mansfield the revolt against a local narrowness was tragic in its results. This is not the place to diagnose it; but it is pertinent to say that stories like "Prelude," "The Garden Party," "At the Bay," capture the "feel" of the country, as well as the self-contained life of the people — at least, as it was lived in or near the towns forty years ago. Here is the first faint delineation of the national character: a hearty extroversion in the male accompanying a certain parchedness, as if the sun dried up too soon the dews of the spirit. Here, too, is awareness that in this primeval country nature is still mysterious and not easily exorcised. It is not self-evident that such clarity as pervades these

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stories could be acquired only at a distance from their setting; and Katherine Mansfield's last journal reveals her longing to return to her native bays and hills.

When she died her father, with characteristic practicality, erected in her memory a streetcar shelter. Nothing better could have been devised to still her countrymen's suspicions that creative writing was useless, and not altogether respectable. For all their vigor, they had not yet thrown off the dead hand of a Presbyterian conscience. The casual visitor might gather from a glance at our statuary and public buildings that Burns and the Bible were the bases of our culture. But both were monuments to be respected rather than books to be read; as for the Bible, the visitor, if he stayed long enough, might call to mind a sentence in Douglas' *South Wind:* "Its teachings seem to have filtered, warm and fluid, through the veins of your national and private life. Then, slowly, they froze hard, congealing the whole body into a kind of crystal." The accuracy of this judgment should be tested by H. C. D. Somerset's *Littledene* (1938) which applies the technique of *Middletown* to a small South Island community. An earlier stage of settlement and civilization is portrayed in loving detail by Herbert Guthrie-Smith in *Tutira: The Story of a New England Sheep Station* (1921), a work which, for its eloquence, range, and insight, has been justly compared to White's *Selborne*.

A country with a population smaller than Connecticut's easily persuades itself that it cannot "afford" many novelists or poets; and a semi-socialist philosophy does not favor putting much wealth into any one pocket — not even that of a potential patron of the arts. Young writers had every excuse for seeking their fortunes abroad. One, Jane Mander, came to America to publish her first novel, *The Story of a New Zealand River* (1920). Years later the young D'Arcy Creswell, who had written a few slight verses, went to England to peddle them from house to house, and told the story of this adventure, in an effective if mannered style, in *The Poet's Progress* (1930). And in the late twenties came two poets whose grace, sharpness, and economy did not go unrecognized in London. Harold Monro put two of R. A. K. Mason's poems in his *Twentieth Century Anthology*. Mason is a good Latin

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scholar — and has other resemblances to Housman. But there is nothing imitative about him, and nothing of the slightly glutinous quality that clings to some earlier New Zealand poets:

Here's no fine cluster
On the hilt, this drab
blade lacks lustre —
but it can stab.

This is both a sample and symbol of his verse. Like that of the equally gifted Rex Fairburn (*He Shall Not Rise*, 1931; *Dominion*, 1938), it is sometimes strident with satire. The depression of the thirties left a bitter mark on both these poets; and Fairburn, who writes love poems of singular power and beauty —

Though Time's black mountain overhangs
the night where she's engrossed in sleep
its shadow cannot bruise my love,
so calm she lies, she dreams so deep.

She is not hurt by what shall be,
death stands enchanted in her eyes;
remote and lovely, a floating flower
on the lily pool of sleep she lies.

Dream deep, my love, as in the time
when your sweet spirit was unborn,
but rise up when the east is purple
and dress your hair for Judgment morn.

can at the same time mock at city Jacks and Jills:

Their world is neither brave nor new,
but brummagem, and ripe for rot,
And men and maidens rummage through
the middens of their father's lot.

It might be argued that this frequent acidity is only in part a reflection of the mood of the thirties, and that both poets have almost fallen victims to an inverted form of the provincialism that hampered their forebears. Some of Allen Curnow's earlier poetry shared this sense of fret and frustration. But he has now got beyond petulance and cleverness, and in the recent "Crash at Leithfield," shows an assured technique and a new objectivity:

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Lower, like bird in wave-trough, gustily rearing
Inland, wing flashed sunnily; steep and slow
O his wild banking had the farm women fearing
What faith in their darling's daring might undergo.

. . . . .

Steadily, gaily tilted to the sun, droning
Still under power, engine and gale together,
To naively cruel earth too swift declining,
To the haystack's and the gum-tree's windy weather;

There is a hint of Hopkins here; and later English poets — Auden and Cecil Day Lewis in particular — have influenced the technique if not the tone of most members of this new group (few of them essay violently experimental forms). But there is not, now, any blind acceptance of English standards, attitudes, or fashions. No longer can it be said that New Zealand is tied, culturally speaking, to British apron-strings. Like our distant neighbors the Australians, we have lately discovered — by imported books, movies, magazines (from *The Reader's Digest* up), radio recordings, and instinctive fellow-feeling — that our habits and outlook are not unlike the American's; though the American as we envisage him lives in the Bible Belt rather than in Broadway and in New England rather than in New Orleans. We, too, have not long emerged from the frontier stage — indeed, the bush still clothes countless gullies and hillsides in impenetrable, almost frightening silence, so that we alternately boast of its beauty and are repelled by its eternal secrecy. We understand the pattern and habits of American democracy (we jib at the deferential "sir" that comes easily to English lips). And we easily assimilate American slang and idiom, while mildly resent the British "accent" as propagated by the B. B. C.

In the excitement of discovering such affinities some of our critics have perhaps exaggerated and misinterpreted them. Mr. Fairburn, for example, has gone so far as to say that "from the point of view of the New Zealand writer *Huckleberry Finn* is the most important novel ever written"; implying that the American tradition as it runs from Mark Twain to Steinbeck and Hemingway is the only one that concerns us — whereas we may have as much in common with, say, Eudora Welty or Carson McCullers.

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But certain it is that our younger generation finds it easier to accept the assumptions of contemporary American fiction than those implicit in the stories of Galsworthy, E. M. Forster, or Virginia Woolf. And it is not hard to find likenesses between a few of our younger story-writers and certain better-known Americans. It is perhaps significant that stories by Frank Sargeson, who catches New Zealand idiom as unerringly as Damon Runyon transcribes that of Jacob's Beach, found hospitality in the American *New Directions* almost before he reached its English counterpart. Sargeson has a great gift for cold-blooded narrative. His style, like Runyon's or Lardner's, is essentially conversational:

> I said if he liked he could take my tin and go out and roll himself one, but he said no, he could wait till after. He just wanted to talk about his sheila, she was a bit like the girl in the big picture he said. It made me properly narked but I hadn't got the heart to tell him off . . .
>
> (from *That Summer*)

Not everybody in New Zealand talks this slangy idiom, which is at its liveliest in the bars and on the waterfront; but every New Zealander understands it. Until *That Summer* (now appearing in parts in the Penguin *New Writing*) Sargeson had published nothing except short stories; but they might almost all have come from the mouth of the same narrator, so that (again like Runyon's fabliaux) they have a kind of continuity. And if this narrator's idiom represents the lowest common denominator of our speech, his personality approximates to the L.C.D. of our national character: he is "quite a decent sort" who has "knocked about a bit" and knows that "things never turn out as good as you think they will, so it's always just as well to get all the fun you can out of thinking what they're going to be like beforehand." He knows that if there's nothing else to do he can always go and lie on the beach in the sun; but he knows, too, that much sun-basking brings vacancy and a fear of thinking, a fear of having to think. Most of Sargeson's characters are men — usually "not the sort that ever says much." They live a casual kind of life, mitigated by a wry humor and a liking for their "cobbers." They never quite forget what things were like in "the slump." In contrast to earlier

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writers, who apparently felt that they had a duty to exploit whatever was dramatic in their country's history or exotic in its geography, Sargeson has taken New Zealand and his fellow countrymen as he found them.

Roderick Finlayson, whose stories of Maori and Pakeha (not unlike those of Erskine Caldwell about similar folk and situations in America) are also accessible in Mr. Laughlin's collections, is more limited in range, less skillful in construction. Of the earth, earthy, his tales are often little more than incidents. But, like Sargeson's, they are a hopeful portent, for they show a writer turning away from worn-out formulae, and getting as close as any white man can get to the mind of the modern Maori.

Neither of these writers has yet published a full-length novel. In New Zealand the difficulties in the way of such an enterprise are great (writing brings almost no financial reward: one of the authors just mentioned earns his living by mowing lawns and growing tomatoes). But it may be doubted whether they have the architectonic power that goes to the making of such a work. Novels about New Zealand there have been aplenty — mostly published in London and relying on local color or historical panorama (*vide* G. B. Lancaster's *Promenade* or Nellie Scanlan's *Pencarrow* series) to make up for any lack of individuality or insight. A recurring theme, until recently, was the conflict between the *mores* of the raw Colonial and the refined immigrant Englishman — or Englishwoman. A large proportion of these stories have been written by women, one of whom, Robin Hyde, deserves to be remembered for *Passport to Hell* (1936) and *The Godwits Fly* (1938).

After a roving journalist's career had brought her grim adventure in China she died tragically in England in August, 1939 — about the same time that another émigré, John Mulgan, was finishing a first novel that comes closer to hers than to any other New Zealand fiction. Mulgan's *Man Alone* is a "tough" story in an artificial frame, but with a new and compelling theme: the hero (who owes something to Hemingway) caught in the swirl of unrest and riot that came with the depression, is cast up on a back block farm, where he becomes involved in a killing. His fight

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back to the coast through the relentless bush is not only the climax to the book: it may be read as a New Zealander's recognition of his country for what it is — implacable, for all its beauty, ineluctable, and continually to be wrestled with. There are some gaucheries in this book; but its people are all of a piece with the land they live in. If *Capricornia* could catch an American publisher's eye, *Man Alone* ought to be able to.

Its appearance preceded by only a few months the celebration of New Zealand's centenary — an occasion which, unlike many such anniversaries, does seem to have brought to a certain maturity much writing that had been going on inside the country, with little notice from abroad, for several years. With admirable foresight the government, besides providing prizes for sundry literary competitions, sponsored a series of surveys of the country's achievement during the hundred years. One result was a set of admirable historical studies, among them an account of the discovery of New Zealand, by J. C. Beaglehole, whose earlier work, including a lively history of the University, had shown that his pen was as sharp and graceful as a rapier. Another was a sketch by Oliver Duff of the national character (with due regard to the climate of opinion) — as honest a self-portrait as has yet been drawn. And a third was the first serious search for the cultural and spiritual springs of the country's life: M. H. Holcroft's *The Deepening Stream*, besides providing the clues to the limitations of our literature, may prove, by reason of its perspicacity, to be a landmark in it. Its successor, *The Waiting Hills* (1943), is not free from platitudes and moralizing digressions. But the chapter devoted to "The Memory of a Voyage — the influences, latent or active, of the long journey from Britain that remains a part of the collective mind" — merits attention.

Holcroft's is a still small voice, and those that have ears to listen to such voices are comparatively few; the quiet tones of P. W. Robertson's *Life and Beauty*, which ten years earlier had recorded a soul's progress from Auckland to Oxford, Germany, and then again to New Zealand, were almost unheard. They are drowned by the drumming of the milking-machines, the radio commercials, and now by the roar of deadlier engines. The war

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has removed many of the conditions that made local publication possible: books, paper, and printers are even harder to come by in the Antipodes than here or in England. Yet the small Caxton Press in Christchurch has continued (though its director is at present serving in the Royal Navy 12,000 miles away) to publish chapbooks, reprints and volumes of verse (some by Ursula Bethell should have had fuller mention here) that would do credit to more famous presses. And now there comes word of a new anthology, chosen by Allen Curnow. I suspect that it will prove, better than further words of mine, how far New Zealand verse has ceased to be of merely local interest. Among the poems that will certainly find a place in it is one by Charles Brasch perfectly conveying something of that strangeness and separateness which, as I have tried to indicate, are the qualities this land has impressed upon its literature. The poem, by a writer who significantly called his first volume *The Land and the People*, may fitly form a coda to these notes:

Always, in these islands, meeting and parting
Shake us, making tremulous the salt-rimmed air;
Divided and perplexed the sea is waiting,
Birds and fishes visit us and disappear.

The future and the past stand at our doors,
Beggars who for one look of trust will open
Worlds that can answer our unknown desires
And enter us like rain and sun to ripen.

Remindingly beside the quays, the white
Ships lie smoking; and from their haunted bay
The godwits vanish towards another summer.
Everywhere in light and calm the murmuring
Shadow of departure: distance looks our way:
And none knows where he will lie down at night.

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Kaw River: April Snow

Will Gibson

Hid in this hollow, this twig depth, below the feet of the town,
I and the trees with our moveless ankles in snow
leaned and listened: each torso and finger and limb hung in gown
and long glove of winter's last gift, and no

air moved in those nets of witchery, no twig stirred, no burden
dropped from a hair of the thicket: nor foot had come
in this secret floor, taproots drank in the black creek, and heard
in no reed the tongue of the town was dumb:

I said, our news is not here, this cellar of trees is sealed, toe,
bed, and bough, in a separate peace: but spied
a cardinal caught like a drop of new blood in the net, and a low
great hawk on a spread wing hooked in to glide

at each bramble: and deeper the trees hear, hid in her old groin,
hoof charge and wheel grate in heaves and shocks
of wars in the earth, where doomsday and genesis cleave and join,
and the land is undoing its locks.

◎ In addition to being a poet, WILL GIBSON is a pianist and music teacher. Mr. Gibson's poetry has been published in England and America.

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The Suppression of Patents

Alexander Morrow

THE suppression of patents is one of the most obscure subjects in the whole field of patents. Even its existence is debated. One school of opinion asserts that many useful inventions are not made available to the public because it is more advantageous to their owners to suppress them. Another group, however, declares with equal assurance that suppression of patents seldom occurs: indeed, there is no reason why one should suppress a patent when he could use it.

Obviously, this confusion results from differing definitions of patent suppression. It may be true that the permanent suppression of such basic inventions as the locomotive or telephone is unlikely, although their introduction may be so greatly retarded as to constitute temporary suppression. But it cannot be disputed that innumerable lesser inventions are permanently withheld from the public for various reasons.

Outright suppression, however, is not the only or most prevalent kind of patent suppression. In addition, numerous practices, resulting in the withholding of patents from the public, have become encrusted in our patent system. Among these are the nonuse of alternative methods and products; the delay in adopting inventions because of the resistance of various groups; the inability to use conjoint inventions because they are held by two or more persons who cannot arrange a cross-licensing agreement; the reluctance to discard costly equipment. In this broader sense, suppression of patents may be defined as the non-employment of inventions because of various social and economic factors.

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Before the question of patent suppression can be intelligently examined, however, the nature of the rights and privileges accorded by a patent should be briefly described. After all, a patent is created by complex legal arrangements. Our patent system confers a monopoly for seventeen years upon the patentee. The aim is to encourage the useful arts and sciences. The grant by society of exclusive rights for a limited period is considered a just reward to the inventor for a permanent enrichment of the useful arts.

American patent law differs from that of European countries in a significant fashion. Although our patent law bestows a monopoly upon the inventor in return for his contributions to the industrial arts, the law supports the patentee in his right to refrain from working his patent. In European countries, as we shall later see, the rights of patentees are contingent to a considerable degree upon working their patents.

It is true that in 1898 the Circuit Court declared that "a patent for an invention which the patentee refused to make available himself, and refuses to allow others to make useful, is not within the spirit of the Constitution which assigns as a reason for securing exclusive rights to authors and inventors a desire 'to promote the progress of science and the useful arts.'" But the courts have since that time more generally accepted the viewpoint that patents can be suppressed by their owners.

Thus, in the Button-fastener case, the Circuit Court of Appeals held that the "patentee may reserve to himself the exclusive use of his invention or discovery. If he will neither use his device, nor permit others to use it, he has but suppressed his own. That the grant is made upon the reasonable expectation that he will either put his invention to practical use, or permit others to avail themselves of it upon reasonable terms is true. This expectation is based alone upon the supposition that the patentee's interest will induce him to use or let others use his invention. The public has retained no other security to enforce such expectations. A suppression can endure but for the life of a patent, and the disclosure he made will enable all to enjoy the fruits of his genius. His title is exclusive and so clearly within the constitutional provisions with respect to private property that he is neither

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bound to use his discovery himself, nor permit others to use it."

In the Paper Bag Patent Case, the defendant's counsel went to the heart of the matter. The Continental Paper Bag Company owned two patents on machines for manufacturing paper bags. The Continental manufactured and sold one of the patented machines, but suppressed the other. The Eastern Paper Bag Company, charged with infringement of the unused patent, offered the suppression of the patent as a defense.

The defendant's counsel contended, "To permit the owner of a patent, held in non-use, to invoke the aid of the courts of equity to enjoin the use by others of an invention which he refuses to use himself would defeat the very object of the patent laws and of the constitutional provision to which they owe their existence. Such a course, had it been pursued in the past, would have blocked the road along which the great historic inventions of the nineteenth century have proceeded to their present state of perfection."

The courts, however, rejected the doctrine that the grant of a patent monopoly to a patentee involves any obligation to work the patent or to enable others to do so. The court maintained that a patent is a kind of private property and that "it is the privilege of any owner of private property to use or not to use it, without the question of motive."

The patentee had no obligation to make the benefits of his invention available to society. But non-use of a patent was against the law when it was part of a conspiracy to restrain trade. Although "non-use ordinarily violates no law, contracting with another, putting in the power of another to compel one not to use, is a contract in restraint of trade designed for the purpose of suppressing competition."

Many who believed that this policy is contrary to the spirit in which the Patent System was framed, have urged that Congress enact legislation to prevent what they considered a perversion of the purposes of the Patent System. One of these proposals is the requirement that a patent should be worked if the patent is to remain valid.

Most foreign countries have incorporated such provisions in

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their patent systems. A common feature is compulsory licensing of others in event of the patentee's failure to work the invention. Thus, the Canadian law requires the working of an invention on a commercial scale within three years. If an adequate reason is not given for failure to work the invention, a compulsory license is granted to any applicant. Under British law, a patent is granted not merely to encourage invention but to stimulate the founding of industries at home. If inventions are not worked sufficiently or there is an abuse of monopoly rights, any party may apply for a license. If the parties cannot agree on the terms of the license, these are determined by the Patent Office. The German Patent Law requires a patentee to grant a license after three years, if he has failed to work his invention. If the patentee refuses to grant a license after an offer of reasonable compensation has been made, a license will be granted by the Patent Office.

Inevitably, various economic and social factors contribute to the suppression of patents. A salient phenomenon relating to the suppression of patents is the greater prevalence of patent suppression in industries which are characterized by limited competition. By the same token, the suppression of patents is less likely to occur in industries in which firms are competing vigorously with each other.

This is hardly an astonishing fact. In industries where active competition prevails, the various firms will regard valuable patents as instruments for advancing in their relative position over competitors. An improved product will tend to increase income. On the other hand, those companies which enjoy a dominant position in their respective industries will have less incentive to discard equipment because this assumption of added cost will not result in increased trade.

An example is the automatic telephone exchange which was invented by Almon Strawger in 1889. An independent telephone company in California acquired this patent and installed its service. The Bell Telephone Company purchased the patents and other property of this company. Because the use of the automatic telephone would have rendered the equipment of the Bell Com-

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pany obsolete, the Company suppressed the patents. Many years later, the Bell companies gradually instituted the automatic telephone service. There was little spur to install expensive equipment because the telephone company's position as a public monopoly sheltered it from any evil consequences for failing to do so.

Dr. Jewett has given very interesting testimony with regard to this problem. Every telephone has a repeater tube. About 10 or 15 years ago, the telephone used a tube that consumed an ampere of current to heat the filament. The tube lasted about 1,000 or 1,500 hours. The Bell Telephone Laboratories undertook to produce a tube which would cost less, consume half as much electric current, and have a life of 50,000 hours. The motive was obviously to reduce the costs of operation. Dr. Jewett stated that this improved tube saved the Telephone Company $10,000,000 a year.

There was no technical difficulty which prevented the use of this kind of tube in a radio set. Yet, it was not being manufactured for use in the household radio set. It is plain that the cross-licensing agreement in the radio field is a bar to the putting on the ordinary market of these tubes. But in a letter subsequently sent to the House Committee on patents, Dr. Jewett asserted that it was not desirable to have a tube that lasted much longer than the associated equipment, particularly a longer-lasting tube that cost much more. He denied that any agreement prevented the Telephone Company from selling or licensing others to manufacture these tubes. But no radio tube manufacturer had, as a matter of fact, been licensed to make these tubes.

We have cited instances in which patents have been suppressed by companies that occupy dominant positions in their respective industries. Statistical data support the view that the greatest technical advance has been achieved in industries where a considerable degree of competition prevails. Although all industries have markedly increased their productivity per worker, this trend has lagged behind in the sheltered industries.

Other kinds of "suppression" are brought about by the unresolved patent deadlock, alternative patents, resistance to the discarding of industries and skills, and the failure of an invention to meet demand in a given social situation.

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It is a commonplace of patent history that many legal and economic difficulties arise when complementary patents must be used together and are held by different people. In many instances, the various patentees cannot reconcile their disputes. Accordingly, the patents held by them cannot be used. For example, an inventor devises an automobile radio antenna, but he cannot put it to use because to do so he would need the right to manufacture unbreakable windshield glass. He does not have and cannot obtain this right. Each of the cross-licensees refuses to take up the antenna patent, for if one used it he would have to license the other to use it. Nor will the two cross-licensees grant the inventor of the antenna the right to make the windshield glass. The radio antenna improvement cannot be used.

Similar situations frequently arise; for while there are many patent pools, it frequently occurs that patent pools cannot be established because of sharp conflict between the patentees.

Another serious patent waste is the acquisition of alternative patents. Corporations buy up all possible ways of performing a particular operation. Most of these devices or processes are not used; they are acquired to prevent competitors from entering the field. The question of the suppression of superior inventions may not enter into the situation. Therefore, the consumers may not be deprived of any superior product or service. But as a matter of public policy this tendency is significant, because it enables a company to achieve a monopolistic position in an industry.

The exploration of alternative ways of performing a particular operation continues unceasingly in the laboratories of many large companies. It must be clear that frequently inventions and research are not used "to promote the progress of science and the useful arts," but to maintain the position of a business enterprise in some industry. "Fencing in," "the offensive into the 'no-man's land of science,'" "shotgun" and "scarecrow" patents all fall in this category. The Hartford-Empire and American Telephone and Telegraph Company offer typical examples of this tendency.

The practice is by no means new, of course. In his book, *Economics of our Patent System*, Professor Vaughan discussed the

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A. B. Dick Company in this respect. In 1916, the A. B. Dick Company possessed 128 patents relating only to a few subjects. Only 67 of these were first issued to A. B. Dick; the others were acquired from other persons. All of these patents could not be used together, nor do they represent a common development. They consist of different fundamental developments. "Three of the patents relate to the feeding of sheets to a duplicating machine from the top of the pile, and two from the bottom. The A. B. Dick Company possessed 28 patents relating to the preparation of stencil paper." Professor Vaughan says, "These patents cannot be used conjointly in the preparation of stencil paper; they represent different lines of invention, all independent of one another. They cover five methods of forming characters in the stencil sheet, namely, abrasion, pressure, heat, adhesion, and extraction." This is obviously an instance of attempting to maintain control of industry by virtue of controlling all possible alternative methods. A. B. Dick successfully maintained its dominant position for a considerable period, but in recent years various competitors have entered the industry.

The suppression of these alternative methods involves unfortunate social waste. The work of many inventors is used for the fulfillment of purposes wholly alien to the aim to "promote the progress of the arts and sciences." These inventions are acquired for the purpose of having additional weapons in making one's way through the jungle of patent litigation. As Waldemar Kaempffert has pointed out, "It has become the practice for many companies to buy patents . . . that are still active and patents that may be cited against them in an infringement suit."

Another factor in retarding the introduction of new inventions is the reluctance of business managers to scrap equipment because of cost. Professor Jerome, who has made a comprehensive study of mechanization in industry, has related that he was "informed by various cotton mill executives that they were still using a considerable proportion of non-automatic looms because of the capital investment that would be required if these looms were scrapped before they had worn out physically."

Professor Fraser has said that a friend of his was going through

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the motor shop of General Electric. "He asked the engineer in charge why General Electric did not put out a ball-bearing motor as the Lincoln Company had done, that ball-bearing motors were certainly a more efficient type of motor. The engineer in charge replied that this was quite true, but that the Lincoln concern was but a small outfit and could not give the General Electric Company much competition, and that the General Electric Company had a great deal of money, equipment, and stock invested in sleeve-bearing motors and that they had no intention of putting out the better type for some years. About four years later, General Electric did finally come out with ball-bearing motors.

"A Russian mathematician, through a mathematical procedure very complex discovered a new way of winding an armature. . . . It rendered obsolete all of the existing equipment in the drills, such as we use. . . . Yet as a matter of fact due to the prodigious investment which there is already in the automatic equipment it has never come upon the market. . . . In the Ford Company, I believe, it takes a change in 48,000 automatic machines to change the position of a single bolt hole."

It follows from this that, once machinery is standardized, it becomes more difficult to discard a considerable part of machine equipment. Standardization may be introduced too early, and this will subsequently retard the introduction of superior equipment. Professor Pigou, the noted English economist, has said, "Even in the course of the Great War, when output was of overwhelming importance, it would have been madness to standardize the production of aeroplanes, the opening for discovery and for the development of better types was so wide."

The whole question concerning the scrapping of equipment involves social and economic questions which are of a complex character. It depends upon the balancing of the factor of capital investment with a whole series of questions which vary from one industry to another. Overhead expense, ease of financing new equipment, regularization of production, rapidity of expansion in that industry, and the level of wage rates relative to other costs, are some of these other factors.

It is an indication of the confusion that exists concerning this

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problem that at the same time that employers are charged with failing to use the most efficient kind of machinery, they are also attacked for installing labor-saving devices and causing technological unemployment. During the long depression our economy did not expand, and since a vast number of labor-saving devices was introduced, this tended to prolong the unemployment situation.

Hence, it has not only been employers who have opposed the inauguration of new processes. From the early days of the Industrial Revolution,workers have resisted the introduction of new machinery and processes which would render their skills and techniques useless. George E. Barnett states that the use of the semi-automatic in the manufacture of small packers' jars, begun experimentally in 1891 in the Ripley factory, was discontinued because the Flint Glass Workers Union insisted that the amount that might be made by a workman in a half day be fixed. The net result of the limit was "that the machine labor cost was to be identical with the cost of hand manufacture."

When the undercutting machine was introduced in the coal mining industry, the union restricted its use by setting a machine differential and limiting the leaders. A tremendous number of other illustrations can be cited.

The machine upsets established capital and skills by its revolutionary effects. We have studied the ways in which a business attempts to maintain its position. The workers, resisting the destruction of their skills, have attempted, by imposing restrictions on the use of the machine, to prevent their displacement from an industry. To say that in the long run the workers will obtain other employment is not enough, because the worker lives in the short run, and even in the long run it has become increasingly difficult for workers to effect a readjustment.

By the same token, if the new tray agriculture should fulfill a tenth of the claims that have been made for it, it may destroy the traditional agriculture. Its effects would be manifested in our whole economy. Our social system would then endure the impact of the profound changes. So, even if the technical claims should be capable of realization, the resistance would be enormous

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because of the readjustment that it would entail. We see then a society must be able to achieve a necessary readjustment if new inventions are to be utilized. Every society, regardless of its character, will confront this problem, so long as new inventions are being devised.

This attitude is not confined to any type of society, for the same problem has arisen in Russia. At the Congress of Inventors held in Moscow in 1932, a speaker complained that Rohshov's device for preventing railway collisions had reposed in government offices for six years before the railroad administration got around to it. "No doubt we have Soviet Edisons," he concluded, "but we also have many blockhead bosses who prefer to save kopeks rather than try anything new."

It should be apparent that the problem of the suppression of patents is far from simple. It involves a host of phenomena which pertain to the resistance to technological change, opposition to the wiping out of capital, and destruction of skills and trades of workers. It deals with the problem of the rigidity of a social structure and its ability to effect the changes that invention makes necessary. In this article, I have touched only briefly upon this intricate problem. "Suppression of patents" is not only a matter of patents. It relates more fundamentally to the pecuniary and social cost of change.

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The American Scholar Forum

GROUP TENSIONS IN POSTWAR AMERICA

The Power of Group Images

R. M. MacIver

If the proper study of mankind is man he is a sadly retarded student. The last thing to which man applies his intelligence is himself, and particularly himself as related to other men. Science with all its triumphs has not triumphed here, and the present almost inconceivable mess of human affairs is the climactic result of the triumphs of science in other fields and its utter failure in this one. This statement is made deliberately, without qualification and with full recognition of the fact that science provides no dynamic for society and no final goals. Say what you will of man's inhumanity to man, go as far as you will in laying the blame on man's unruly passions and the swollen interests of individuals and groups and nations. But these passions would not have led man blindly into the mire except for his ignorance of where they led, and these swollen interests would not have conspired to their own destruction had they not grossly miscalculated the ulterior consequences of the behavior they prompted.

Thus the insight of Socrates is vindicated. Or let us take Shakespeare instead. Hamlet offers a recorder to the scheming politician Guildenstern and bids him play it. "I cannot," he replies, "I have not the skill." And Hamlet answers, "Why, look you now, how unworthy a thing you make of me! You would play upon me; you would seem to know my stops; you would pluck out the heart of my mystery; you would sound me from my lowest note to the top of my compass; and there is much music, excellent voice, in this little organ; yet you cannot make it speak. 'Sblood, do you think I am easier to be played on than a pipe?" Naively we think just that. Without knowing their "stops," in complete ignorance of their responses, we would play upon other groups and other peoples — and the discords that fill the whole earth are the result. There is surely no greater source of human misery and frustration than this.

In the universal business of human relations the simplest precepts of science, the mere commonplaces of the art of knowing, taken for granted in every research, in every engineering task, in every other enterprise, are rejected. We teach schoolboys the elements of science, but we do not teach them — or ourselves — the first rudiments of the science of human relations. Here we draw the most sweeping conclusions from the most inadequate premises, or from none at all. We generalize about other groups on the flimsiest misinformation, so long as we can give a moral color to the generalization. We would never dream, for example, of saying that all Basutos are six foot tall or that all male Zulus wear golden earrings. That would be grossly unscientific. But, like Tennyson's farmer who announced that "the poor in a lump is bad," we are ready to believe that certain nations are wholly evil-minded and their members monotonously uniform in their evil traits. If we do not like trade union policies then the workers are a subversive and misguided lot; if we like these policies, then the workers are

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the saviors of the earth. If we like the Soviet ideology, then everything that proceeds from Russia is good, and we applaud actions we would most vehemently denounce if committed by others. If we dislike it, then everything Russia does is bad or at the least suspect. Without hesitation we attribute motives, good or bad according to our prior inclinations, to explain the behavior of groups other than our own. Of all judgments the attribution of motives hidden behind overt behavior is the most precarious and the most unverifiable, and our confidence in making them is equalled only by our irresponsibility.

We do not know how to comprehend groups. That is part of the trouble. We have no education for the understanding of groups. So we resort to the conception of them as bigger but grotesquely simplified persons. Our ignorance, played upon by our emotions and our interests, sets up wholly unwarranted *images* of collectivities of every kind. We do not need to know the other group or the other nation; we look on the image we have made, and that serves instead.

When we consider its results we must surely agree that this making of idols, cast in the shape of demons and very occasionally of saints, the images of evil and of good collectivities, is the most deadly of all intellectual sins. We slide into it so easily. It comes so naturally to the aid of our local egoisms, our group prides, our loyalties, our devotions. It besets us all — even scientists of high renown, who in their own fields would shrink with horror from so gross a betrayal of intellectual integrity. Among primitives the idol-making habit may be relatively harmless, perhaps even beneficial, as cementing the unitary and semi-isolated group. But in a modern civilization, where diverse groups must live together to make one community and where diverse nations must live together to make one world, this habit has become the most insidious enemy of the well-being of all. In the United States we have the most diversely patterned union of diverse groups to be found on earth, dedicated to the principle of their equal rights and opportunities — and nowhere does the business of idol-making flourish more, and nowhere does it portend greater perils.

Clearly the need is for social education. Clearly our hope lies there. It is not an unreasonable hope, since the particular images we make, the particular shapes they assume, are products of indoctrination and, moreover, are very malleable under certain conditions. One day we image the French as a nation of degenerates and another day they become again a puissant people marching with us in the van of civilization. There is a changeful relativity about most of our social images. Walter Lippmann deserves credit for having called attention to these thought-forms, but the word he popularized to describe them, "stereotypes," conveys overmuch the notion of fixity, of indelibility. We prefer, for this and other reasons, to name them social images. Experiments in education already show that they are amenable to training. Happily, this educational process of training does not need to use the methods of counter-propaganda; for it is indubitable that in the light of knowledge the demon-images shrink into phantoms, the baseless fabric of a vision now opened to the truth.

But our methods of social education must be thoroughly revised, indeed revolutionized, if we want to pursue this end. They must be reoriented to the demands and conditions of our age. The task is vast and formidable, but not beyond our reach. The response to such experiments as the "Springfield Plan" is encouraging. The sense of the need is growing, though there are stubborn resistances to be overcome. Among other things we must remodel our teaching of "social studies," of civics, and of history. They must be made, in the best sense, more realistic, informed with new knowledge of social situations, brought to life by the translation of great but graying traditions into the actualities of man's hard struggle to new goals, and directed to the primary question of how men and groups of diverse opinions and faiths and origins and interests can live together and together make the one community. As nearly all students will tell us, most of our current instruction in "civics" and in "government" is dull and unresponsive. Social education is not much advanced by routine information about the machinery and the departmental structures of government, nor is it made appealing by

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sweet anecdotes about Washington and Lincoln or by noble platitudes about democracy — which shy away from the issues of democracy for the Negroes and for our Mexicans and for the Japanese-Americans and for the Jews. If we teach that way, then we shall find, as Marie Syrkin says in *Your School, Your Children*, that "the same boy who earnestly applauds the Gettysburg address in the school assembly will join the Silver Shirts or the Ku Klux Klan and be unaware of any conflict between the two acts."

We must teach the meaning of democracy, getting down to the earth of it. We must teach in new ways and we must provide the teachers, in school and in the community, with new knowledge. We extol democracy but we do not comprehend it. Even when we fight in its name or for its sake our faith is dim because its meaning is unclear. Unless we vitalize it, it will not animate our people or realize itself within our lives.

Democracy was born of the struggle of groups — religious groups, economic groups, ethnic groups — against the intolerance and abuse of power. The struggle of groups against domination and discrimination goes on endlessly. Democracy is always in process of becoming, never fulfilled. It makes new demands in the multi-group society we have inherited, and we are flagrantly failing to meet them. Everywhere in this country of ours the prejudicial images of other groups impair our strength and darken our future, the anti-images of Negro and of White, of Jew and of Christian, of Catholic and of Protestant, of employer and of worker, of all the warring sects and schools that are not content to pursue their ends by honorable means but, armed with all the devices of modern propagandism, becloud every issue and everywhere stir up tension and tumult.

What can the educator do about it? If he does his proper job he can do more about it than all the rest. His proper job, or no small part of it, is to educate the young for the society in which they live. This society is a multi-group society. In this country the average youth receives some ten years of schooling. During these years he can be taught saving knowledge, dynamic knowledge, about living in a multi-group society. He can be taught how we make false images of anti-groups. He can be taught the danger that lies in supporting our values, *whatever they be*, by falsehood and misrepresentation. He can be given a fair and unromanticized story of the groups who compose our people, depicting their struggles and their contributions to the life of man. He can be taught to meet persons as persons, and not as labeled specimens of types. He should be taught these things most explicitly, with special attention to the most menacing anti-images, according to time and place, whether the powers of darkness have chosen the Negro or the Jew or the Oriental or the Catholic or the Communist or the Capitalist or any other category as the front of their warfare against light. And the student should be taught these things in the living experience of new habituations that every community and nearly every classroom can provide.

It is no easy task for the teacher. Apart from his own prejudices he is subject to pressure from the prejudices around him and above him. He has another great danger to meet. Prejudices are the servants of values, of loyalties and of faiths, and he dare not and must not attack the values they falsely serve. His especial task is to uphold two values among the rest, the worth of truth itself and the worth of democracy. If he is a genuine teacher he can take satisfaction in the fact that these two values are conjoined. Only through the victory of truth over prejudice can diverse groups together sustain the democratic community.

The social scientist should provide the teacher with more adequate means for his continuous task. We need to explore the nature and functioning of social groups, the formation of their value-systems, the role of leadership in them, the conditions under which group images emerge, spread, and change. The social psychology of group images is an unexplored subject that should be full of interest to the sociologist. A number of years ago the author conducted a study of the attitudes of Canadians towards the people of the United States. Canada has a heterogeneity of population elements similar in many respects to that of the United States. At the same time it is constructed, along their

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continental belt, of five major sectors almost wholly islanded one from the other. Nevertheless, from coast to coast, across geographical barriers, across the "social distances" that separates Quebec from its neighbors of the west and of the east, regardless of all differences of social position, of ethnic derivation, of experience and other factors, there was a practically unanimous verdict delivered on the characteristics of the American people.

These were the opinions of Canadians about their "big neighbor," about the same kind of people, for the most part, that they are themselves. But from the different environment the neighbor people is treated as a collectivity, seen in relation to the respondents as another collectivity, and this act of "hypostasization," as the philosophers call it, helps to explain the remarkable unanimity.[1] It helps to explain why the Canadians with one voice credit Americans with certain quite specific shortcomings and with certain quite specific virtues. It is not the viewpoint the people of the United States take of themselves. If they blushingly accepted the virtues attributed to them, such as being "generous" and "practical," they would still repudiate the charge that they are, in any particular sense, "dollar-chasing" or "materialistic." These are attributes of a social anti-image — and indeed one far less obnoxious than most — and this image is not derived from experience. On the contrary, the social image becomes blurred as a result of closer and more understanding contact. Those who know their neighbor people least tend to have the most clear-cut images.

By an anti-image I mean the image a group projects of some antithetical or polar group, the representation of out-group by in-group and *vice versa*, of minority group by majority group and *vice versa*, of any group by any counter-interest group. The anti-image is the defensive-offensive response of the threatened interest, whether it be economic or political or cultural on any level. It is an ideological device to evoke in the group a fighting consciousness of its separateness and superiority. The group is extremely amenable to appropriate suggestion concerning the evil or malicious designs of the counter-group. It has no controls against these suggestions. Every collectivity is a question mark to every other, and any representation of a group that satisfies the egocentric emotions of another is easily accepted. In this sense peoples as well as smaller groups are question marks. An irresponsible reporter tells the people of the United States how "England" feels about them and produces a pleasantly painful glow of resented injury, sharpening the anti-image of England. What the "United States" feels about England is reported back in the same spirit, and so misunderstandings grow and endanger the common interest. Everywhere, for all groups in all their relationships with others, this process is at work.

Many "movements" live by the fabrication of these anti-images. We have developed no educational safeguards against the credulous reception of them. They are the stock in trade of every unscrupulous propagandist. They will not suffer any issue to be fought out on its merits or any cause to be adjudged by its rightful claims. They rationalize every social injustice, every kind of exploitation. They give the joy of righteousness to every selfish and domineering interest. They are most powerful when they can do most harm, in the time of troubles. Hitler's success with the anti-image of the Jew is only a large-scale example of a method that many groups in this country, led by tricky propagandists, are pursuing all the time. Only a rare exception among these propagandists is so naive as to wear a particular color of shirt.

The exposure of our total civilization to this menace is primarily a failure of education, and beyond that a failure of science to provide the armory of education. We shall get further by regarding it as a failure on the front of knowledge, a failure of science and more particularly of social science, than as a failure of morals. No doubt in the last resort it is a moral goal that must animate our educational endeavors. Always there is a moral goal back of the behavior of men, including scientists, and the bland assumption by some

[1] For an analysis of this study see the present writer's Introduction to H. F. Angus, *Canada and Her Great Neighbor* (Toronto, 1938, Publication of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace).

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scientists of intellectual indifference is itself often the disguise of moral valuations. But in the conflict of moralities we have no clear line of social solution unless we can call to our aid the light of truth. These anti-images work their evil first by distorting the truth. Only the forsaken lovers of darkness can resist us if we make our campaign in the name of truth.

In the name of morals alone we cannot fight this menace. The image-makers are great moralists. They call for high and holy crusades. They are vindicating the honor of white womanhood, they are upholding the purity of their race, they are defending their gospel against the crucifiers of Christ. The more moralized they make their cause, the more dangerous it becomes. The historical record repeats this story endlessly. We need the aid of science to counteract the poisons that fester in moral enthusiasms. On this ground these images can easily be attacked. There is nothing vague or obscure about them. They are as clear-cut as they are false. Their falseness can be exposed, and the mind of youth will take the lesson.

We lose so much by refusing to seek, for ourselves and for others, the truth the anti-images betray. We cut ourselves off from the enriching experience of our multi-group society. We raise walls to narrow our horizons. We cannot reach out to the understanding of those who differ from our own type. We become caged within the sterile consciousness of our own kind. But beyond these losses to personality there loom the social costs. Can we perhaps learn the deeper lesson of the disaster the Nazi creed has brought upon the world? Can we learn to distinguish between the creative struggle that brings strength and the wrathful blind division that first corrupts the heart and in the end tears down all that we have built?

The Educational Problems

I. L. Kandel

I

If fundamental diversity of opinions is evidence of group strains and tensions, then ample evidence of their existence was provided in the six articles on liberal education which appeared in the Autumn issue of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR. Those articles indicate more than diversity of opinions among professional specialists in education. They represent more than the age-old conflict between liberal and vocational education. They are the expression of two aspects of American culture — the one standing for the tradition of a liberal education, the other stressing the importance of a practical education to meet the needs both of individuals as wage-earners and of an essentially industrial and industrious society. Benjamin Franklin saw the breach coming when he advocated the establishment of an academy to provide an education which would be at the same time both "ornamental" and "useful." The breach continued to grow wider, however, and, with the increasing enrollments in high schools and colleges, has given rise to one of the crucial problems in American education today.

The gravity of the problem may be illustrated by taking two extreme expressions on the aims of education. At one extreme is what has come to be known as the St. John's College group with its advocacy of the study of the hundred best books; at the other are the recent reports on the future of secondary

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education (*What the High Schools Ought to Teach*, issued by the American Council on Education, and *Education for All American Youth*, prepared by the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association), with their emphasis on social studies and "work experience."

The diversity of opinions on educational aims, methods, and content is beginning to represent more than the traditional cleavage between the advocates of cultural and the advocates of vocational education, or the more recent cleavage between the traditionalists or essentialists and the progressives. Because the one group represents the tradition of a liberal education, it is charged with being aristocratic, conservative, and reactionary; because the other group advocates the progressive adaptation of education to changing needs, it claims to stand for the fullest expression of democracy, faith in equality of educational opportunity, and belief in the improvability of the common man. As a result of these charges and claims, for which there is frequently little or no justification, the issue becomes confused, ceases to be purely educational, and is made the battleground of social, political, and economic theories, and even of religious views. The inevitable result is unrest among teachers and the public, culminating in changes of administration and personnel. J. M. Shiels' *Just Plain Larnin'* (1934) presents an excellent picture of this gradual transformation of an educational into a social, political, and economic issue. Another consequence is the formation of groups, including educators and public, arrayed against each other under different banners, labels, or clichés, and drifting so far apart that they not only cease to understand each other but are unable to talk the same language. The merits of the case tend to be forgotten, and tempers may become short as they did recently when the eighty-five-year-old advocate of one point of view referred to the eighty-two-year-old defender of the other as childish. In the long run it is the generation still in schools and colleges that is bound to suffer.

II

The prevalent uncertainty as to aims, meaning, and content does not conduce to the orderly progress of education. There may, however, result from it a synthesis more closely adapted to the needs both of individuals and of society. The importance of a clearer social aim of education is nowhere better illustrated than in the urgent need to cope with the group conflicts and prejudices which exist in American society. It is unfortunate but inevitable that the group strains and tensions which have come to a head in American society should be reflected by the children and youth in the schools. The story of the injection into the classroom of racial, religious, social, political, and economic antagonisms has been told effectively by Marie Syrkin in *Your School: Your Children*. The story is not limited to the one school or the one classroom described by Miss Syrkin, nor is it confined to New York. It can be written of any school system in which children are drawn from a variety of groups.

Because the situation is nationwide the issues involved have become one of the major concerns of educators and laymen, and a considerable amount of attention is being devoted to the promotion of intergroup and intercultural education. The problem, however, is not one which can be limited to schools alone, since it is not the school which inculcates the prejudices and conflicts to be removed. Pupils bring their prejudices to the school from their homes, their groups, their communities, and sometimes even from their churches. Since these prejudices only become more accentuated in times of crises, such as those through which the country has passed in recent years, the problem is as much one of adult education as it is of the education of children and youth.

An extensive literature has already been developed in a very short space of time on the subject of intergroup and intercultural relations. Some experiments have been initiated of which the outstanding one is that conducted in Springfield, Mass.; workshops for teachers are being organized; the National Conference of Christians and Jews is devoting a major part of its attention to the promotion of interfaith understanding; the Catholic University of America in 1939 appointed a Commission to prepare curricula and teach-

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ing materials on Christian social living and American citizenship for use in Catholic schools. In 1942 the Department of Supervisors of Instruction of the National Education Association issued a Yearbook entitled *Americans All: Studies in Intercultural Education*; in 1943 the American Council on Education appointed a commission on Religion and Public Education, and is promoting the study of intercultural relations as part of its program of teacher education. The Bureau of Intercultural Education, New York, is publishing a series of teachers' manuals and resources units on Problems of Race and Culture in American Education; and the United States Office of Education has organized a series of broadcasts on *Americans All*. This list is by no means exhaustive, but it should be indicative of the widespread recognition of the existence of a serious problem.

Undoubtedly important contributions to education may be expected from all these activities, discussions, and experiments. The school, however, cannot solve the problems of group strains and tensions. It may succeed in effectively imparting knowledge and in changing attitudes on group relations; but it will be building on uncertain foundations, if children and youth continue to be exposed to prejudices and conflicts once they leave school.

The educational problem of eliminating prejudices and discrimination is not a simple one, nor can the school today close its eyes to their existence. The right methods may emerge from the experiments and discussions which have been initiated. First, however, there must be some agreement on the ends to be achieved. Is the primary issue one of developing understanding between groups and cultures or one of inculcating the ideal of democracy to the fulfillment of which *individuals*, as members of groups and of various cultures, can contribute? To approach the problem from the point of view of intergroup or intercultural relations is to ignore the fact that as an American citizen each individual is a member of a great number of groups and influenced by a variety of cultural experiences. The fundamental issue, then, is the degree to which individuals, groups, and cultures may cooperate and may contribute to the basic ideal which should bind them all together in loyalty to common objects of social allegiance. Something more is needed than tolerance and understanding if the essence of American democracy, *E Pluribus Unum*, is the ideal to be implemented.

In the past twenty-five years the dominant educational theory has been opposed to the inculcation of values of any kind — whether ethical, social, or intellectual — on the principle that the task of the school is not to teach pupils "what to think" but "how to think": each pupil is to discover values out of the situations that he has to meet. The consequence has been the proliferation of educational objectives without the benefit of a common sense of direction. Indoctrination has become anathema to educators, with the result that there has been a failure to recognize that no community can exist as a community without a sufficient degree of unity on the basis of which the individuals, groups, and cultures can be free. Cultural pluralism as the essence of democracy does not mean the co-existence side by side of a variety of cultures, but different ways of contributing to the same common aim. The essential characteristic of democracy should be variety set in a common framework.

From this point of view, then, the issue in education is whether group strains and tensions should be made the direct object of instruction and discussion, with the danger of emphasizing differences and developing a type of self-consciousness of superiority or inferiority; or whether it is not of paramount importance to cultivate an active understanding of the meaning of democracy and of the common objects of social allegiance to which groups and cultures can contribute, each in their own different ways. Only when this issue is decided can the methods of attaining the main objective be determined.

"Learning the ways of democracy," cooperative activities of pupils, and developing the right attitudes must at some stage in the educative process be intellectualized. At the school level special courses on intergroup and intercultural relations may do more harm than good. In developing the real spirit of democracy and its meaning teachers of all subjects have a responsibility. But first teach-

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ers must be educated for this responsibility, for teachers, like the public in general, are themselves not always free from the prejudices which they are now called upon to remove. It is possible that an answer to the conflicts indicated in the first section may be found, if it is recognized that from the study of the humanities a sense of human values may be derived to offset the current belief that the ills of the world can be solved by science or scientific methods.

III

There is another issue — the danger of economic stratification through failure to implement the traditional ideal of equality of educational opportunity. Attention has been directed for the past thirty years to the existence of inequalities in education due to the unequal distribution of wealth, so that opportunities for an adequate education are dependent upon accident of residence. A great deal of evidence has been accumulated in the past decade to indicate that the amount of education open to American youth is dependent not only upon accident of residence but also upon the economic and social status of their parents. Not only is the enjoyment of educational opportunities dependent upon the socio-economic status of parents: the length of education and even the choice of courses are determined by this factor. This was shown some twenty years ago by Dr. George S. Counts in his book on *The Selective Character of Secondary Education.*

The situation may have been corrected by the raising of the age of compulsory attendance. Nevertheless the National Survey of Secondary Education (1932), Howard S. Bell in *Youth Tell Their Story* (1938), and the Regents Inquiry in New York State (1938) show conclusively that most students leave high schools, not because of lack of interest or failure in their studies but for financial reasons. That socio-economic status intimately affects the amount and kind of education enjoyed and is a determinant in the relations of students among themselves must be the conclusion of all who read *Who Shall Be Educated?* by W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst, and Martin B. Loeb (1944).

As a result of state-wide tests of high school pupils Professor H. A. Toops found in 1935 that for financial reasons as many good pupils did not proceed to college as poor ones did. This general result was proved more conclusively by Dr. H. B. Goetsch in a study of *Parental Income and College Opportunities* (1941) and by Dr. H. L. Davis in a study on *The Utilization of Potential College Ability found in the June, 1940, Graduates of Kentucky High Schools* (1942). The conclusions in other studies are the same and point to the danger of a gradual economic stratification of American youth. The importance of promoting social mobility through education was recognized by President James B. Conant in an article on "Education for a Classless Society" (*Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 165, pp. 593 ff.). To meet this situation the Educational Policies Commission in its report on *Education and Economic Well-Being in American Democracy* (1940) recommended the provision of scholarships as a form of social expenditure, a policy recently adopted by New York State.

The social implication of the failure to provide financial aid for able students was most clearly stated by Dr. Edward Thorndike at the conclusion of a study on *The Distribution of Education* (1932) in which he found that "the ablest receive very little more than the least able." To quote Thorndike,

> Doubtless great ability will often manage to get education outside of schools or to get along without it, but those who can do so much for the world with so little are the very ones who should be given more. In the wars we are incessantly waging against disease, misery, depravity, injustice and ugliness, we should not provide our best marksmen with the poorest weapons nor ask our bravest to fight with their naked hands.

IV

Brief as this analysis of the tensions in education is, it does reflect the unrest and uncertainty which prevail in American education. If the analysis points in any particular direction, it seems to demand an integrating factor which has not yet been clearly developed. The United States has embarked on a program of education which has no parallel either in history or in other parts of the world. That program has always been the outstanding ideal of the country since it be-

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came a democracy. Remarkable progress has already been made in the provision of educational opportunities, but the moral and intellectual interpretation of the meaning of democracy has not kept pace with the provision of educational facilities. The tensions which have been discussed will be resolved only as the public and the educational profession become more conscious of them as a whole and direct their attention more than they have done in the past not to the fabric of education, to which vast sums are being devoted each year, but to the meanings and purposes which educational institutions at all levels must seek to promote.

The Mechanisms of Group Tension

Karl N. Llewellyn

In our culture as we have it group tensions grow up afresh with the growth of each newborn squaller. The tensions, and the repugnances, the fears, the willingness or eagerness to know and believe ill and despise or hate, which make up "tension" — these emerge as part of the very process of turning a newborn bundle of disorganized random self-will into a person bearable to have around. They emerge especially as the price of producing such vital positive qualities as loyalty, self-sacrifice, team-play, team-desire. That is the existing situation, and all of our adults bear the marks of its having been the situation: warm, active sympathy that spreads and reaches wide (as contrasted with a tired tolerance) is an achievement which marks a modern adult human being with a rare touch of greatness. In a swiftly mobile multi-group society like our own, where patterns for co-operative group relations need remaking and on-going creation — both by individuals and on the mass-scale — and where the readiness for fierce group tension lurks in each of us, waiting only to be stirred up, focused and manipulated, this constitutes a major hazard to the civilization alike of the nation and the world.

The comfort and the job ahead rest both on one fact: that group tensions are as little inborn as are team-loyalties. Both are *learned* things, and processes of learning are somewhat subject to intelligent control. True, it is easier to learn tension-patterns than to learn team-patterns; their soil consists of simple recurrences such as anger, bafflement, desire to have or to have most or to have first, the urge to find a scapegoat for insufficiency or error. Thus the learning of tension-patterns can set in at a low level of individual integration, whereas team-patterns call for some patience, some self-restraint, some acquired power to merge immediate self and self-desire in a larger whole, a longer range of thought that can envisage a team-job reaching beyond the moment. Tension-patterns grow like weeds; team-patterns need care like crops. But that difference only poses the problem and shows how deep it is. It does not bar an answer.

The fundamental fact, in the modern American home and neighborhood as in a primitive society, is that the child slowly becomes a person (and so a social being) through direct contact with concrete persons, and then by way of the *organizations* of attitude and "experience" which prevail around him. These latter (which include importantly MacIver's "images" and "anti's") take on body, bite, toughness as a child finds again and again that We think that way, and especially when his attempts to use them in his direct contacts work out excitingly — as, e.g., in baiting another child, or in rallying Us effectively for play or protection.

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Get these abstractions down to the everyday of life, and watch them work. The toddler's life has above all things an outside limit, a circumference. All of the narrow circle think We, talk We and act We — a We which includes the toddler. His troubles come from breaking over restraints necessary to the common living of this circle, this team, of Us. In those terms come encouragement and repression, praise and blame, patient instruction and quick penalty. Nor is it long before We are brought recurrently into sharp contrast with They — the persons outside the circle. In direct experience one learns early that not everything in pants can have its hair pulled, that not every bigger thing in rompers is policed against shoving or hitting. In heard and observed attitude one learns that the We of the family reaches out readily to include more or less intimately *some* Others of Our faith or extraction or occupation or neighborhood; to hold *other* Others at a distance, though perhaps politely ("Company manners, John!"); and to scorn or rail at or envy or hate still others, who are most truly Other, and sloganized by "anti-images" with labels. On those one can let himself go, without restraints; and is that welcome!

But it will not do to let all the weight rest on the "anti-image." The matter cuts much deeper. It runs down to the fact that in our restless, pushing world we cannot learn by simple imitation our life-wisdoms about the greater team-ways that keep our society together. In a slow-changing world jobs and ways are more or less set up in interlocking patterns, with appropriate attitudes toward other groups and persons to be learned, to be lived — the ways and attitudes together: "a man knows his place" in the large team, and others know what to expect of him. But from the beginning this country, and for long enough the whole modern world, have been faced with rapidly moving conditions. Grandfather's concrete ways of doing no longer will do. We have to work out new ways of living and doing within each generation. Individual life-policy puts a premium on seeing your chance and reshaping to seize it. In a scramble, elbows come into play. *Settled* pictures and patterns of and for the Whole Team are non-existent, and there is too little time and too much complexity to build new ones that are in balance.

Thus to get the difficult team-virtues built into our children, we moderns need, more than a more stable world would, the pressure *from a sharply seen circumference.* The simple way has always been, and will into the foreseeable future be, the setting up (consciously or unconsciously) of antagonistic Others to be Against. That presses Us together. I say nothing at this point of the comfort of having Some Gang to blame it all on, or to lord it over. It is enough to remind that governments about to be thrown out for reason have always found war useful. But the further point is that We-attitudes thus set up with a circumference apply their contrast not alone to particular groups of Others, but in vibrant (though perhaps latent) high potential to *any* Others-group, to *any* group which is not We. Others-attitudes are readily and indefinitely extensible. Fortunately, the We-attitudes are also extensible, and they do get constantly extended as the child moves into maturity, new surroundings, wider contacts. But they extend less readily. They also find comfort in ceasing the extension. Spread of crops takes work preparing soil.

Before we turn to measures of help, one further point needs attention — in regard to the self-perpetuating mechanisms of the weeds among the adults, in these days of sketchy news stories and hurried observation of individual occurrences. The contrast is in terms of *organized* pseudo-experience about groups, sloganized to call up "images" or "anti-images" by label. If the incident is bad, mean, hateful, slimy, then if reported of one of Us: (a) we don't believe it, we need more evidence, that doesn't happen; (b) even if adequately proved, it isn't typical, there must have been a reason, we aren't that way, but there are scoundrels everywhere, cast him and it out and forget it. But if it is reported of one of Them: of course, see, there it is again, that's the way they are, what are we coming to? And we'll not forget! While every inference of dirty play or slime is indulged not only without inquiry, but also as riveting the type of All of Them upon the single report about the one. If the instance is favorable, interpretation runs in exact reverse.

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This is the rabble-rouser's capital asset.

The rabble-rouser (honest or vicious) will be rousing with increasing effect in the economic disruptions of postwar. Plainly, the more orderly and effective our readjustment, the less the peril. But the major peril is not internal. Ours has proved to be a country curiously tough against this particular matter of group tensions. One major traditional liberty under our Bill of Rights is to form factions and hate hard; yet we have ceased to tar and feather, we have steadily cut down our insurrections, riots, lynchings. Contrast Shays' Rebellion with the passive stop the Minnesota farmers put to farm foreclosures.

I do not mean that we can sit back. It will again take all that decent men can muster to keep the cauldron of domestic postwar from bubbling over. What I do mean is that even bubbling over, though a bitter reversion to what we have been in process of outgrowing, means no destruction of the nation or the polity. The prophets of evil are softies in their hearts; they have no stomach for the kind of struggle and patience which are needed again and again along the road to wider team-building. Neither have they in their heads any living picture of the terrific gouging battle of American internal group tensions through which we have fought up to the limited degree of actual working tolerance we now have.

Neither, finally, have they taken note of things around them now. What sane man can enjoy our treatment of the West Coast Nisei? But who can even think of it as being in the same class as the bigoted witch-hunting of German-Americans throughout the Middle West in the last war? Labor troubles we shall have, and plenty of them; but who that has touched labor matters, seeing the people concerned instead of reading or orating about abstractions, can doubt that both men and managers have moved, country-wide, well-nigh halfway along the line from pure fight-thinking toward a team-conception of handling industry?

Far be it from me to belittle today's swelling racial and religious antagonisms, or the double strain where these are linked with economic struggle. Far be it from me to blink the tensions that await demobilization, not only between unsuccessful veteran and civilian, but as Lynd insists, between successful veteran and an oncoming generation of unemployed youth. Yet against these heavy debit items I see assets. Some that seem petty are far from that: community of feeling and understanding that has cut for decades through old walls of prejudice by way of certain nationally loved strip cartoons and radio "families": such things, over years, for adults by the million give body to "flag" and "country." And like it or not, the long years of a single president have been at work to do the same. The Armed Services have mixed millions from varied backgrounds into "outfits" that enlist loyalties and so force widened sympathy; nor is there any reason to expect from this long war the return of men wholly disoriented which was last time's fruitage. Today's boys will return different and non-civilian, but save for emotional casualties they will return as *persons*, with order in their being, to be reckoned with not as wild, but as purposeful. They will return as members of as wide and varied a new Group as we have ever dreamed of. That will bring its tensions, but *all* tensions of all other sorts it will cut across and undercut. And the continuance of general service for the young opens up a new and standing machinery, which with any sanity in the handling can hope to produce in each new year's crop a goodly measure of effective mixing-bowl, if not of melting-pot.

On the domestic side, then, trouble and struggle, but survival. On the international, the striking power and speed of war have stepped up too fast to give us safety while we engage on long-drawn education. We need to get together on some kind of international control with power enough to choke off war preparation. We need trust before we have either anything to trust or any reason to trust it. There, we are in the peculiar position of needing a great fear to make us move in spite of a lesser one. And I see little but the V-bomb and *its* image to drive that lesson home. After some government has started, and in terms of longer-range relations, there are lessons in MacIver's paper — lessons, too, in a paper some years back which pointed out the need for bringing home to every ordinary man and in direct daily experience, such as

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licking postage stamps, the fact and nearness of an international government that is doing something for each of us.

Meantime and as an individual matter, there is one thing any man can do. As he meets daily voiced suspicion of bad faith and dirty play by any group which is to him an Others-group, or by any of its members, he can seek to apply in his own person the very minimum of what he proudly insists on from our law: no condemnation of a Whole of persons by the deeds — though black — of one; no condemnation of any person without a hearing, without even will to inquire. Liberty, even to scorn or hate, entails responsibility.

Group Tensions and Mass Democracy

Louis Wirth

I

A nation at war is likely to give a false impression of its essential unity, for while external conflict offers the supreme test of national strength, it may at the same time conceal basic internal divisions and conflicts. This is particularly true of democracies in which collective action depends upon consent rather than coercion. The ordeal of battle may well be accepted as the ultimate test of the capacity for group survival, but survival is merely the necessary precondition for the achievement of the ends for which society truly exists.

A country threatened by war or bent upon conquest must achieve at least a semblance of unity as a basis for its military prowess. In such a society a real or imagined enemy without furnishes a sufficiently unambiguous incentive for the voluntary or forced suppression of internal strife. In non-military societies, however, the incentives for the minimization of internal tensions may not be as imperative or lie so readily at hand.

Among peoples free from the threat of foreign aggression and not in quest of empire or loot, the test of an integrated society lies in the effective, uncoerced participation of all in the pursuit of the common good. A democratic society in time of peace confronts the continuous task of generating consensus on its values and the ways and means of approximating their realization. In a small, compact, homogeneous and static community this is not too difficult, but in large, widely dispersed, heterogeneous, dynamic societies it is a formidable problem.

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II

The tensions that permeate our society become intelligible if they are seen as arising out of the operation of mass democracy. Our fundamental principles of government and our ideas and ideals concerning the good society have not changed fundamentally since the early days of which the New England town meeting was symbolic; but the conditions under which democracy has to operate have been profoundly altered. With the advance of industrialism has come a tremendous growth of population. Large masses of people of diverse racial, national, religious and cultural origins have been concentrated into huge urban aggregations. These recruits to an exuberantly growing America — of whom there have been more than thirty-five million since the beginning of the nineteenth century — were uprooted from their relatively stable, provincial cultures, stripped of their traditional, local and familial ties, and were drawn into the vortex of life in the metropolis. There most of them struggled as unattached individuals to find places for themselves in the economic, social and political structure of an expanding democracy.

The rapid growth of cities subjected the social and political forms of the village and town, in the matrix of which American institutions and ideals had been molded, to severe strain. The old direct methods of ascertaining

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and reconciling the opinions and interests of the members of the community proved less and less effective. Life in great cities in the midst of an expanding industrialism not merely recruited its members from the ends of the earth and thus had diverse peoples and cultures to begin with, but tended to differentiate them ever further. The extreme division of labor, upon which modern technology, science, and capitalism depend, produced a wide range of occupations, incomes, standards of living, outlooks on life, interests, and status. Contact between widely varying elements in the social structure became ever more tenuous and segmental, and communication between them ever more fragmentary and difficult. And yet, as the society has become more complicated and interdependent, communication and cooperation have become increasingly necessary. Urban democracy can survive only if it finds ways and means of achieving consensus under these new conditions of metropolitan life.

The justification for characterizing our society as a mass democracy lies not merely in the large numbers and the diverse traits and interests of its members, but also in the fact that we expect all to participate in making collective decisions. We have extended the suffrage to a point where the American electorate comprises over fifty million voters. Such a stupendous mass of potential participants in the making of political decisions has called into being elaborate machinery for influencing opinion and action. Such great masses of men can be moved to act in unison only through effective large-scale organizations. Political parties have developed into giant organizations disposing of vast resources.

Nor has the adaptation of the democratic principle and democratic institutions to the conditions of life in modern urban industrial society been confined to the realm of politics. The precedent for mass enfranchisement in the political arena has been employed to support the claim for economic democracy. The rise of large-scale mass production industry has been accompanied by the progressive organization of labor for collective bargaining.

Thus in contemporary American mass democracy we tend to have giant government, giant communities, giant parties, giant corporations, giant unions and giant interest groups of all sorts. Only through such large-scale aggregations can individual and narrower group interests find expression. The kind of society in which we live can maintain its democratic character only by resorting to and perfecting the technique of indirect representation. In such a society only the unorganized are inarticulate. But as we become incorporated into organized groups we rely to an ever greater degree upon our spokesmen to represent us in the councils where policies are made. What is more, no single organization to which we belong ever expresses precisely our own distinctive individual grievances and aspirations. Nor does any single organization ever completely represent the range of our interests. Thus, while each organization assumes the function of reconciling the conflicting interests of its mass membership, each one of us as a person must assume the responsibility of composing his many and often conflicting loyalties to a variety of organizations, each of which represents only one segment of life's interests. If the inhabitants of the modern metropolis are to rise to the stature of self-governing persons, if they seek to have their voices heard and to play their roles as citizens in a democracy effectively, they must find their way into the congeries of organized groups that flourish in every community. There are, generally, as many of these groups as there are conceivable human interests. These organized groups and the policies which they pursue are indicative of the stratification of our society, its range of interests and its points of tension and conflict.

III

The group tensions arising in mass democracy are in part the result of the failure to adapt the institutions and practices of democracy to these changed conditions of living. They are also in part the result of the wider diffusion of the claims that can be made under the aegis of mass democracy, once people begin to take the creed of democracy seriously. There is no way of measuring whether the tensions and strains within our society are more profound or acute than they were in former days; but there is every reason to believe that with the advent of mass organizations which can give articulate expression to grievances and policies, problems which formerly did not rise to the level of public issues are now made into issues which cannot be side-stepped. Only a few of these issues can be dealt with here.

Although America has been the world's

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outstanding "melting pot" of races, peoples and cultures, the process of assimilation is far from complete. Despite the virtual cessation of new immigration since 1929, imposing islands of immigrants and their offspring in our great cities remind us that our America is not yet one, but many.

What is true of the *ethnic* groups who came here from the Old World is even more glaringly apparent in the case of America's *racial* minorities — notably the Negro. Not only have the Negroes, constituting approximately one-tenth of our population, not been fully incorporated into the life of America, but in many respects they continue to be subject to severe discrimination and not infrequently persecution.

What makes the problem of the racial and ethnic groups peculiarly an American problem is not merely that they constitute such a large section of our society but rather that our actual treatment of them is so glaringly at variance with our fundamental laws and our professed public policy. The nature of this war and the noble ideals for which it is being fought — or rather, the ignoble ideals *against* which it is being fought — further accentuate the awareness of our racial and ethnic minorities of the fact that they are denied equality of opportunity. In the case of the Negro, for instance, minority status involves deprivation of the full rights of American citizenship, unequal treatment under the law, unequal and inferior public services, restricted economic opportunity, unequal treatment in the Armed Forces, involuntary confinement into racial residential colonies, and numerous other forms of deprivation of rights, privileges, and opportunities.

Recently the Japanese-Americans have been the victims of even more arbitrary forms of discrimination, which some have been futilely trying to justify as necessitated by the exigencies of war. While the ethnic minorities in America have, because of their lower visibility and their close cultural affinity to the older white settlers, fared somewhat better, such movements as anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, anti-alienism, and other movements of intolerance are by no means negligible in proportion.

Their inferior status in American society has led minority groups to seek organized expression for their grievances, means of defense and improvement of their status. Sometimes these groups have struggled alone and other times in alliance with other minorities or with members of the dominant group whose conscience was aroused by the glaring contradiction between our creed and our practices. The growth in recent years (largely as a result of mass violence or threatened violence) of interracial groups and of official and unofficial bodies designed to deal with the problems of race relations, is an indication of the importance of ethnic and racial conflict in American life.

Besides these conflicts, singularly acute from the very composition of our population, we share with other urban industrial societies of the Western world the strains and antagonisms between the major economic interest groups. As long as there was an unexplored and unexploited frontier, almost any American could aspire to a measure of self-subsistence, if not of wealth, as owner of a farm or a business, or in some other form of self-employment, such as the professions. This margin of safety which prevented, or at least retarded, the crystallization of economic classes in America has often been commented upon by observers from abroad as one of the unique good fortunes of America. With the settlement of the frontier, with the development of large-scale corporate enterprise and of mass production based upon semi-automatic and automatic machinery, the aspirations for middle-class status of the masses of men have been progressively thwarted. We have witnessed the rise of giant combinations and monopolies, and the corresponding restricted opportunities for small business and self-employment. The development of mass production and mass distribution, together with the decline of apprenticeship accompanying the substitution of automatic machines for hand tools, has reduced the proportion of skilled workers in our labor force and tremendously increased the proportion of clerical and semi-skilled workers. The rapid growth of organized labor and especially, in recent years, the phenomenal rise of industrial unions may be regarded as direct repercussions of these technological and economic changes. Even in the field of agriculture, formerly the citadel of individualism, recent years have witnessed the development of nationwide organizations representing the interests of farmers. The clash between the interests of giant industry, giant labor and giant agriculture has been felt on virtually every front of public life. Only the consumer has lagged behind in organization, largely because in

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America, even more than in other countries, people's interests as producers seem far to overshadow their interests as consumers.

With minor exceptions the conflicts of interests between these organized economic groups and the clashes within these groups themselves have been compromised in a non-violent fashion through the intervention of the state. This has put upon governmental shoulders a responsibility which was not envisaged by the founding fathers. Politics has become, not merely a mechanism for composing conflicting interests in the public interest, the state serving as the referee, but also the means for rendering a host of services which were formerly regarded as the responsibility and prerogative of the individual or of private enterprise. The heritage of an earlier, simpler, agrarian America, in which the best government was the least government, has had to give way to the concept of the state as a service institution guaranteeing not only a minimum of order, but a minimum level of education, health, and personal and social security.

Much futile debate is carried on regarding the proper sphere of responsibility of local and state government as distinguished from the Federal government. While no one would wish to deal with problems of social control such as education, safety, health and welfare on other than a local basis in so far as these problems have truly local scope, it should be recognized that if we are to have a unified nation with certain minimum standards of life common to all its parts, the nation as a whole must assume responsibility and provide resources where the local community is unable or unwilling to do so. All too frequently the encroachment of the Federal government on the traditional province of the local community is resented and resisted without any corresponding effort on the part of the local units to deal adequately with their problems which in an interdependent society are of national concern and can be dealt with effectively only on a national scale. A similar failure to appreciate that modern technology and economy have made this one world is responsible for the persistence of isolationism in America in regard to world affairs.

The struggle over the kind of government suitable to modern industrial mass democracy is by no means ended. In the wake of depression and of war there will no doubt remain, whatever the outcome of the struggle, a more inescapable recognition of interdependence and of responsibility of the community for the order, peace, freedom and well-being of the citizenry. The conflict of interests between economic groups, however, organized as they are into powerful and articulate organizations, will become increasingly the substance of politics. The conflicts between individualism and collectivism, between laissez faire and planning, between a negative conception of the state as a police organ and the positive conception of the state as an active agency intervening in behalf of the common good, will furnish the background for most of the social, economic and political ideologies and social movements that will dominate America in the years to come.

With the preponderant proportion of our people living in cities, and with the extension of the advantages of urban living to all parts of the country, with the mechanization of agriculture and the perfection of means of communication and transportation, old divisions in America are disappearing and new ones are taking their place. The regional and sectional lines of division are being obscured by the fact that new power constellations are appearing upon the scene. Of these, the ethnic and racial divisions, on the one hand, and the economic divisions, on the other hand, are by far the most significant. Upon the management of these tensions depends the future peace and prosperity of America.

Conflicts, as many acute observers have noted, are not necessarily a source of weakness to society, but may actually be a basis of its strength, and the dynamic elements in its progressive development. If these conflicts can be resolved peacefully, if we can come closer than we have thus far in realizing the ideals expressed in our fundamental laws guaranteeing equality of opportunity for all, irrespective of race, creed or national origin, if we can assure every American of a decent level of existence — which our resources, our skill and our genius for organization make amply possible — and if in so doing we can maintain our basic freedom, all the other strains in American life will recede into the background. Living as we are in an urban-industrial civilization, to achieve these ends we can no longer rely upon our power as atomized individuals, but must learn to use wisely the vast organizations to which we belong and through which the aspirations of mass democracy find expression and fulfillment.

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To make these mass organizations effective and to keep them from getting out of hand calls for something more than mere formal affiliation with them. It requires active participation. As long as a large proportion of the total society remains unattached, it is not only unrepresented but is likely to become the basis of disorder, and prey to the man on horseback. The conflicts that beset America will be resolved, if at all, through contest and compromise between mass organizations, rather than individuals. The danger to democracy lies not so much in the existence of these conflicts as in the exclusion of a considerable proportion of our people from the public life of America.

In the Summer Issue . . .

THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR FORUM will present a symposium on "Difficulty in Literature." There will be three or four articles discussing various aspects of the estrangement between many of the most distinguished writers of our time and the general public.

Coming . . .

The Artist, the Scientist, and the Peace	Sinclair Lewis
In Commemoration of John Keats (1795–1945)	Allen Tate
Knowledge as a Function of Being	Aldous Huxley
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Debussy	Joseph Zukerman, U. S. N.

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UNDER WHATEVER SKY

Irwin Edman

All Time, All Existence

"Under whatever sky I had been born, since it is the same sky, I should have had the same philosophy." Nothing could better express than this sentence of Santayana's, the ambition and the illusion of the philosophic mind, the aspiration to survey the scene of nature and of life with such candor and exactness that the prejudices of time, place and temperament will vanish and the thoughts one speaks will be the thoughts of Nature herself. I have no such illusion. I know I speak here and now in the fourth decade of the twentieth century, in the sixth year of a world war in which my country is deeply involved. I write, too, amidst the distractions of New York, and in the society too commonly known as academic solitude.

Yet I intend to try, under the above title, to exemplify something of the philosophical ambition to see even contemporary things under the aspect of eternity. For, to vary a line of Swinburne's, I have lived long enough, having seen one thing, that all things recur. Perhaps a sense of recurrence is the special insight allowed as a tragic compensation for the tragedy of our time to those of us whose adult lives have spanned two wars.

The middle-aged educated men and women of this generation are those who were in college or just out of it during the last war. They may be forgiven a sense, not without a tinge of irony or cynicism, that this is where, as at the movies, they came in. With the quarrels over spheres of influence, and ideologies of the right and left, they may feel that this is like 1918, or 1815, or for that matter, like any peace after any war when, the shooting having stopped, it is not as clear as it seemed during the battle just how much or perhaps just what has been really or permanently settled by the combat. Every person of goodwill knows what he *hopes* will have been settled: peace not only in our time, but for all time. But a generation that has lived through two wars and read the history of many more, may not be scolded altogether justly for watching events with an unpersuaded eye, or feeling that serenity can come only from seeing events in that light of eternity which is commonly called philosophy.

On Being a Philosopher in New York

There are many things that have been called the enemy of the philosophical temper. They include worldliness, the demands and the impulses of the flesh, the obligations of society or family. I am told by my friends in what we in New York like to call the provinces that city life is the great enemy of philosophy, though I cannot help recalling that it was Socrates who said in the *Phaedrus* that it was men and not stones from whom he learned, and whose mind and spirit languished outside of Athens. I think it is not cities my friends mean so much as New York City — which, they will be quick to point out, is not ancient Athens. I confess having sojourned with pleasure and stimulation and peace in academic communities outside New York, like Cambridge, Williamstown and Hanover; having lived for summers in small villages in New York State and Vermont and in Devonshire.

I think I know what my friends mean by

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calling New York distracting. New York is the place where people read the book reviews instead of the books, where the fashions in culture are brief and epidemic. New York is the abode of what Tolstoy contemptuously calls the cultured crowd and the marketplace of counterfeit art. It is the city preoccupied with the momentarily famous, the current composer or author or even anthologist, or the bright playwright of the instant. It is filled with the trade winds of culture, and since much of the talk is set in motion by the entrepreneurs, the publishers, managers, art dealers, etc., "trade winds" is well-used.

New York is too full even of good and authentic things. There is more good music, more good painting, there are more meetings devoted to good causes than any normal mind or spirit can digest. It is possible to get a vicarious sense of accomplishment merely by keeping busy seeing what other people have done — elsewhere. In one sense, New York may be said to be the ideal place for a philosopher, although thinking in its purlieus, or trying to, is a little like trying to sing in a boiler factory. Where could one be as detached as in New York, at least socially? One is loosely related to a hundred communities, but one is fixed in no one community. Even good causes in New York have an atmosphere of remote control, of being distant and impersonal.

No mean city. Simeon Strunsky recently borrowed Saint Paul's description of Athens to describe New York. But if to be a citizen means to be a conscious member of a community conscious of one's existence, one is a member of no city at all in New York, of no neighborhood, of no group. One is as alone spiritually as if one were in an East Indian wilderness, and sometimes the sense is that of an almost wild anonymity. I once heard an Adirondack guide visiting New York for the first time remark at the end of his first day, "I saw ten thousand people today whom I shall never see again." Had he continued to live here, he would have come to be acquainted with hundreds of people he would never really know.

New York, then, is not a bad place in which to cultivate the detachment of the metaphysician. Here, where one fits into no frame of reference, one can imagine all possible worlds. Here, committed to no group and to no localism, one can contemplate all time and all existence. I am not so sure that New York is a good place in which to be a *social* philosopher. What is an habitual New Yorker to know of the ties that bind men in a smaller community, the meaning of community itself? The Athenian thought of his city as a civilization, because he was a part of it, and he thought his life fulfilled in his civic life. It is hard to feel this way in a city of seven million people. Not even Mayor La Guardia's weekly folksy addresses, not even the new City Center of Music and Art, quite makes one feel the sentiments Pericles had in mind when addressing Athens in the midst of a great war. Perhaps one could write a metaphysics in New York, but hardly a Platonic *Republic*. But New York is a vast place full of the improbable, and possibly one is being written right now.

Aphorisms

One way of conducting this quarterly commentary would be to type a page or two of Aphorisms. The notion has been put into my head by two recent experiences which, by a slight forcing of the term, might be called literary. One was the reading in part — or as far as I could get — of a collection of aphorisms, so called, by an author hitherto unknown to me, who sent them to me for my delight and my comment. The other was the reading of a section of Franz Werfel's *Between Heaven and Earth*. The obscurer author at least lived up to something like the dictionary definition of an aphorism: "a pithy comprehensive sentence stating a general notion or truth." Herr Werfel's aphorisms were sometimes two pages long. A great many persons believe that any sentence or paragraph, set off by itself and not part of an ordered argument, is an aphorism. But no such aphorism is likely to be good or true save as it is the distillation of much experience, insight and reflection. It is easy enough to manufacture pseudo-aphorisms. I shall do so forthwith:

"There is no truth on the paper when there are lies in the writer's heart."

"The business of life is not the purpose of living."

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"The act of creation is a birth certificate in eternity."

"Strong character is three-quarters resistance to change."

I am not sure these sentences mean very much, or anything, or that if they do they are true. But printed in large type, on handsome paper with wide margins, signed by a nineteenth-century romantic or an eighteenth-century classical writer, I think they would pass muster. It is not easy to distinguish the concise from the trivial; it is child's play to be compact when one has nothing at all to compress. An air of finality, a moral tone, a balanced sentence, a double imaged on-the-one-hand and on-the-other-hand — and one has a minimum equipment to set up as a maximist. Aphorisms are generally on human nature, and their clipped concision suggests that the familiar half-truths they report are whole truths newly discovered. There are a few writers with a gift for conveying in a sentence the substance of a whole morality or world-view, or of disposing large pretensions with the edge of wit. But the pleasantest surprise is to come upon an aphorism by a writer not known for winged words or dagger thrusts. Thus it is striking to discover John Dewey saying, "While the saint sits in his ivory tower, the burly sinners rule the world." What a comment on the all-fastidious moralists and aesthetes in the twenty years between the two wars.

The aphorist has a streamlined American cousin, generally known as the wisecrack — a quick, evanescent piece of cracked wisdom or, more often, crackling shrewdness. Perhaps the true aphorism has died out for the same reason that new great systems of philosophy no longer appear. The world is too complicated to be audaciously summed up either in a system or a maxim. Only a simpleton or a master can say something summary and simple about a confused world. The world in earlier times was either simpler, or there were masters in it. One sighs for the spacious days of the old quarterlies, where one could expatiate in ten thousand words. The true master can in a few words speak volumes. The lesser writer wishes he could have three volumes to spread himself in. The weight of a tome at least suggests profundity.

On the Religion of Foxholes

There are no atheists, we are assured, in foxholes. Lucretius long ago observed, not altogether without satisfaction, that religion grows out of fear and calamity; and he did not value religion any the more highly therefor. It is not quite a compliment to God or religious morality to look for a rebirth of religion in extremity only, or to think that imminent death is sufficient proof of the existence of God, or that war suddenly attests God's wisdom to all mankind. I suspect what religious leaders are correctly noting is not what they think themselves as observing. In a time of patent and universal tragedy, matters that in normal times are less patent, though perhaps not less universal, sorrow and suffering, are in the consciousness of millions who ordinarily may get along almost to the last breath without having faced the tragic facts of existence. I think it a crude notion that the chaos and destruction of a war would seem to any reflective mind to be an assurance that God's in his Heaven, all's right with the world. But the issues which human existence always raises are made acute in wartime. In war the hideously wasteful fact of death in youth becomes a daily item of mass news. In war the innocent are slain, brute power is in the ascendant. These are precisely the circumstances when the questions that have troubled men always in times of crisis once more become crucial. The conventional religious answers under such circumstances will not do, as they hardly do anyway. But neither do the conventionally irreligious ones. I suspect there has been a great surge of interest in novels of the religious and contemplative type because human beings who normally would never think philosophically, find philosophical issues on their doorstep. God, Freedom and Immortality are clichés to ordinary men in ordinary times. But in a world terrifyingly bleak and discouraging, at a time when freedom is threatened and obligation paramount, when death comes in terrible forms and to the young, these terms have acquired force and poignance. Religion is announced to be the way and the life, either in Christian or in Orientally contemplative forms. But I doubt whether people who wondered about God's

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justice in peacetime will wonder at it any less in war.

By the same token, people who wondered about the meaninglessness of life, who thought in peace that there was more in human experience than is revealed by economic and psychiatric formulas, have felt even more the inadequacy of Statistics and Formulas in war. The issues of life and death are dramatized in war. But war does not make glib answers more acceptable. It makes the questions — and the questioners — sharper.

THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR takes great pleasure in announcing that "Under Whatever Sky" will henceforth be a regular feature, conducted in each issue by Irwin Edman.

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The Revolving Bookstand

Machiavelli Dead and Gone

Jacques Barzun

When Mr. Pickwick said "The word 'politics,' sir, comprises in itself a difficult study of no inconsiderable magnitude" he was only making a Pickwickian overture to a distinguished foreigner. But the foreigner transmuted lead into gold by a slip of genius when he wrote down: "Poltics — the word 'poltic' surprises by himself." This was pure prophecy, for if we, a hundred years and more after that conversation, should see the word "politics" by itself, we should certainly faint with surprise. "Practical politics" we know all about; "dirty politics" we are familiar with; "power politics" is a tautology we never tire of using. But politics as a study, a discipline of the mind, and a category of judgment, we have lost all sense of.

A glance at a few recent books should be enough to convince anyone that this is so. Not that the subject is formally avoided. On the contrary, under the sting of death universal, many a contemporary writer has been impelled to put his special knowledge at the public's disposal in the form of comprehensive political treatises. One thinks immediately of Mr. Laski's *Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time*, Mr. Mumford's *Condition of Man*, Mr. Kahler's *Man the Measure*, or the late Bronislaw Malinowski's *Freedom and Civilization*. These are works of great scholarship and matured thought; each contains elements that cannot be ignored in assessing the present: anthropology, history, economics, cultural analysis — all can help to guide us through the middle years of our century. But as one reads these critics and diagnosticians, one looks in vain for a recognition of political necessity or even a steady application of classic political theory. Instead, one finds abundant ethical feeling, much economic and social inventiveness, and a strong — almost a religious — passion for unilateral, absolute policies. This is all the more remarkable and regrettable that usually, either the goal or the starting point for each writer's inquiry is the predicament created by the unilateral absolutism of fascist policy.

The feeling of predicament gives life to the notion of "crisis" — paradoxically, a long-drawn-out-crisis — so well exemplified in Mr. Kahler's large-scale philosophy of history entitled, *Man the Measure*.* As a good historian, Mr. Kahler knows that every period has been a time of troubles and he gives us excellent résumés of significant conflicts from Phoenician times down to the end of the Middle Ages. But from then on, if I do not mistake him, a special disease set in. Attitudes special to modern man — rationalism, individualism, materialism, romanticism — gave rise to a unique sort of Nihilism which in turn explains our present plight. National Socialism is merely a symptom of the accumulated evils that prevent the establishment of "a new, common, and humane order."

Doubtless in summarizing Mr. Kahler's views so briefly, I am doing an injustice to his painstaking and detailed arguments, but here or in his pages everyone will recognize the modern theme of evildoers opposing a new order. This is the ethical view of contemporary history, and it generates the

JACQUES BARZUN is associate professor of history at Columbia University. Professor Barzun is the author of *Romanticism and the Modern Ego* and the recently published *Teacher in America*.

* Pantheon Books, New York, 1943, 700 pp.

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messianic view of future history. Gloomy or sanguine, one could certainly make out a case for this view on humanitarian and propagandistic grounds, but I doubt whether it is a *political* or even an historically tenable view. What I mean can be illustrated by taking at random two facts of modern history — one, our enemies' claim that their scheme of things is precisely the new order all are seeking; and second, the temper and policy prevailing among the Western powers for twenty years, which asserted that the real enemy of mankind was Russian communism. Add to this the authoritarian character of the Russian government and you, as observer, face a *political* situation; that is, a situation which does not permit the drawing of only one line between two camps, a situation which in short defies simple ethical analysis.

Now what seems to me characteristic of human history and what is neglected by our modern writers is that history considered on the large scale is perpetually making hay of partisanship by shuffling together allies and enemies, and in the process never by any chance breathing a word of Right and Wrong as between rival mass movements. I do not mean that opposing ideas do not offer a true choice, nor do I mean that military decisions are unimportant. Confronted by a menace like militant fascism, a neighboring nation must meet it in battle or be enslaved. But in analyzing the historical reasons for such conflicts and in forecasting the future of Europe, it would seem unpolitical, not to say impolitic, to retain the ethical view of embodied Good fighting embodied Evil and to continue hoping with a religious fervor that victory will mean the reign of peace and justice here below. Would that it were so simple!

If historical examples are needed to show the infinitely complex meaning of decisions by force, it is only necessary to remember that Rome "destroyed" the barbarians but became their prey by the same act, neither ultimately conquering; that Puritanism "abolished" kingship in England, was "stamped out" in the Restoration, but "remained" a strong element in British culture; that Europe "defeated" the French Revolution and Napoleon, but "succumbed" to revolutionary principles as well as to Napoleon's code; and that in some way not yet widely understood, fascism comes straight out of democracy's demands for mass privileges. In a word, no principle triumphs in its purity, nothing is unmixed or wholly predictable in

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its effects, because political man is not a chemical reagent which can dissolve or be dissolved by another. Even the Indian has in dying left his mark on the American.

II

The critical position I have sketched thus far is open to such easy misconception by the malicious, that I am glad to find support for it in the witty, satirical verses of Donald Stauffer * — normally of Princeton, but for the last two years a Captain of Marines in the Pacific. Readers of the *Kenyon Review* will remember Mr. Stauffer's "philosophical" poem "The Lemmings," of which the burden is distrust of rationalistic finality:

The fears and the ecstasies that our grandfathers share
Come from another world that isn't there.
Let us endure, our new wise men say, for a season,
For all will be clarified soon in the light of pure reason.

But no sooner is this sarcasm launched, than the poet limits its destructiveness:

The danger, of course, lies in taking all things as they are
Instead of transforming this world to our favorite star.

The two convictions together neatly define what I have in mind as the political view, and this becomes the subject of a later poem, "Essay on Lassitude — Ewa, July 1944":

Contemplation, as all such examples would tend to prove,
Is a wonderful life because you so seldom must move.
Don't think, though, I'm idolizing the active and hearty. . . .
Men quick on the trigger, all Johnnies on the spot
May be lumped in a line as the laziest of the lot.

And again:

To argue with anger, however, is always too late. . . .
Till at last we have all been led as a matter of course
To the easy solution that never solves anything: force.

Significantly, too, at the end of a series of epitaphs, this truth has the last word:

One thing you must believe: I was like you,
In war there is no one and other,
Know that though nameless, fighting red or blue,
Here lies your brother.

The contradictions tenderly or humorously

* *Brother, This Is War*, Princeton, N. J., 1944, 32 pp.

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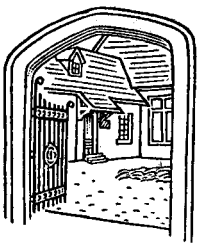

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recorded in these verses are not simply those of changing poetic moods, nor are they purely verbal. They reflect man at work more accurately than our rationalizing historians seem willing to do.

To be sure, Man might be a more dignified creature if he could see clearly into all his motives, choose one, and make a beeline to his goal, but this is the one thing he cannot do. He is forever attaining a part of his "rational" end and simultaneously achieving the opposite or the unforeseen. And he does both in the midst of noise, strife, and the blackness of despair. Naturally, an historian or political writer who has a direct apprehension of these truths will bewilder the less hardened citizens whom he addresses. That is why Machiavelli has been endlessly misunderstood and why today Shaw is similarly branded and abused. His recent summary of lifelong political convictions * has been called fascist, communist, utopian, Machiavellian, cynical, inconsistent, and obscurantist. The kindest epithet has been "doddering."

Though I am far from subscribing to every point of Shaw's creed, I find none of these accusations justified, for each charge proceeds from a static point of view covering only a small part of the field. And any such absolute attitude, however high-minded and intellectually clear-cut it may sound, denies the very problem it pretends to solve, namely, How shall we live together under government? What Shaw proposes is assuredly not fascism. On the contrary, he gives the best reasons yet in print for democracy. But he does not stop at abstractions. He goes on to suggest an organization of democratic activities so as to achieve a reasonable amount of order and not fall a prey to tyranny through anarchism — as did old Athens and Florence and their modern counterparts. If it were needed, a good token of Shaw's continued political sense would be his debunking of Utopia at large:

> Let no one imagine, however, that the disappearance of class divisions founded on differences of income will produce a united front in which we shall all obey Christ's exhortation to his disciples to love one another. When there are no more untouchables, and we are all intermarriageable, society will be more wholesome; but it will not be quieter nor less incorrigibly quarrelsome. . . . At present we have a multitude of proletarians who are too preoccupied with their struggle for exist-

* *Everybody's Political What's What?*, Dodd, Mead and Co., New York, 1944, 380 pp.

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ence . . . to meddle in politics or religion. And at the top we have people who, having no economic anxieties, no work to do, and seven meals a day, are too fatheaded to be capable of religious or political controversy. When both these disablements are removed, the numbers of our controversialists will be hugely reinforced: all society will become polemical and partisan. . . . Millions of well-fed bumptious citizens with plenty of leisure for argument will provide all the excitement the most restless spirits can desire.

We can only hope that when this particular condition of man is attained, the pleasures of ferocious debate will prevail as the sublimated form of the lust for blood. But this in turn will again require an abandonment of what I have called the "dignified," non-political view of man.

Aptly enough, two other new books — which shall provide my concluding examples — have lately sought to redefine man for the uses of social philosophy. The first is the work of the distinguished French biologist, Pierre Lecomte du Noüy, whose *La Dignité Humaine** completes his trilogy on Man and Modern Science. It is a closely packed recapitulation of ideas based both on laboratory research and on wide reading, but here again, the weak side is the political. Mr. du Noüy's conclusions against philosophic materialism, against unanalyzed and uncoordinated scientific teachings, and against shallow agnosticism, are all worthy of the most sympathetic attention, but his belief that evolution spirals upwards and that "up" means the abandonment of self-interest in favor of pure Christian altruism is hardly acceptable on the strength of a supposed parallelism between moral effort in man and the struggle for life among animals.

Yet even this might be granted for argument's sake, if the author did not make modern Germany the scapegoat of a "regressive evolution." His own source of ethical inspiration should remind him at this point that "we are members one of another." Hence there can be no Ins and Outs in the highly problematical "evolution" of as tight-knit a culture as that of Europe. Similarly, it is weak logic to quote Goethe, Nietzsche, and Julius Caesar as witnesses against the Germans' "inferior degree of evolution," or as proof of their biological bent towards herd thinking: any population can turn into a herd and any twelve men into a lynching party.

However much the critical reader deplores M. du Noüy's lapses from solid argumentation, he will not fail to notice that both M. du Noüy and Professor Ernst Cassirer — the author of the second work bearing on the nature of man — alike repudiate the classic nineteenth-century faith in mechanism. The series of chapters on man's origins and man's culture in Professor Cassirer's *Essay on Man** support the view that life is an element, not a congeries of parts; and that culture is not a casual fungus but a many-sided creation of symbolic forms corresponding to man's consciousness of himself and his world.

This is of course a more believable outcome of emergent evolution than M. du Noüy's abstract and unusable ethics. And curiously enough it leads us back to Shaw's attempted reorganization of society in accordance with man's diversified interests. Mr. Cassirer does not dwell on political issues, but thanks in part to Herder, he has an admirable grasp of history; so that in defining political life as one of man's attempts to "organize his feelings, desires, and thoughts" he reminds us that man has no "nature" in the sense of fixed and measurable attributes. Man makes himself while making history, hence is always ahead of his own temporary abstract formulas. He can only be understood if seen, not in the form of a "product" or a "victim" or even a champion of some external history, but only in the groping creation which is politics.

* Brentano's, New York, 1944, 331 pp.

* Yale University Press, New Haven, 1944, 237 pp.

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OUR READERS COMMENT

Can Germany Be Re-Educated?

To the Editor: In an essay entitled "Germany Can Be Re-educated," published in this magazine (Vol. 13, No. 3), Joseph Katz, a refugee from Germany like myself, raises some questions with regard to Germany and her treatment by the Allies in the postwar period. Contrary to his views which coincide largely with that growing chorus of Germany's defenders who insist on her rapid rehabilitation and re-admission to the family of free nations after the war is won, I feel that such an evaluation of Germany and her people involves not only many inconsistencies and omissions, but presents also a source of potential danger to our future. Conclusions drawn from superficial knowledge, dangerous under any circumstances, can become a deadly weapon in wartime and a serious threat to a lasting peace.

Katz notes that in considering the problems of postwar Germany, "one is to avoid the common fallacy of regarding National Socialist Germany as a genuine and direct expression of the German character," and speaks with indignation of "*the frequent charge that Germany is an aggressor nation.*" (Italics mine.)

The author then continues by giving his definition of German "*idealism.*" According to him, the German "*feels himself a part of a larger whole*" who is "*always seeking for the Sinn (meaning) of life*" and who "*without a sense of moral justification cannot act at all.*" Katz finds "*a sense of greatness and heroism*" in their "*Weltanschauung*" and believes that once freed from Hitler and Nazi rule "*the Germans of tomorrow might be among the most energetic members in a system of world-wide cooperation.*" (Italics mine.)

Such assertions ought not to pass unchallenged.

It was to be expected that with the approaching end of the war those long silent voices, which in the years of Munich and Chamberlain advocated appeasement of Germany and understanding of her "legitimate" aspirations to hegemony in Europe, would again be heard, and that long-hidden commonplaces, such as "German idealism," German "Weltanschauung," German "sense of greatness and heroism," etc., would turn up again.

What could not be expected was that the butchers of millions of innocent people, the murderers of Warsaw and Lidice, the slaughterers and thousandfold killers of today, would be not only seriously regarded as welcome members of a future world organization, but would also — by implication — be invited to become its "most energetic members" of tomorrow. Has it been completely forgotten that the Germans were, only a short while ago, such "most energetic members" of the defunct League of Nations that they energetically swallowed and destroyed their co-members, one by one, until they had engulfed practically all of Europe?

What could be expected even less was that today, when American youth is involved in the struggle for civilization, the labelling of the Germans as "aggressors" would be ridiculed and characterized — in an American magazine — as among the "fantastic histories," obviously conceived by the bad non-Germans for the purpose of discrediting the noble Reich.

It is apparent that this kind of thinking shows few traces of objective scientific analysis. In Katz's article, the entire German record prior to 1933 is virtually ignored. "*The German evil,*" says Benedetto Croce, himself a Germanophile, "*has an historical nature and was historically born.*" For the admirers of Germany her present and past history apparently have no connection with each other. Instead of seeing the events and realities as they are, they limit themselves to empty proclamations (such as "Germany is no aggressor nation"), and instead of studying Teutonic history they prefer — unconscious disciples of Goebbels, the great master in this field — to adhere to such vague theories and misty conceptions as German "Weltanschauung factors," "idealism," and the like. One is reminded of Marx: "Perseus wore a magic cap that made him invisible when he was hunting down monsters. We draw a cap tightly over our own eyes that we may have warrant for denying the existence of any monsters at all."

With such a lack of historical evaluation, it is only natural that Katz, in his conclusions, comes to suggest that "one of the first tasks in the process of regeneration will be a revitalization of Germany's past." Revitalization of Germany's past? Which past? The cult of Wotan or the empire of the Hohenzollern? The feudalism of the middle ages and the "Holy Feme"? The crusades of the Hohenstaufen or the absolutism of the Princes? Is Katz really so unaware of Hitler's own "revitalization of Germany's past"? Certainly

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not. But in his opinion it "has undergone much falsification under the Nazi rule." Was it falsification, or was Germany's past history being brought up to date when the Germans revitalized their ancient pagan practices, when they transformed their medieval torture chambers into modern gas chambers, when they resumed the old religious hatreds and persecutions, when they burned books at the stake, when they degraded womanhood to official "Gebärmaschinen" of the Reich, and when they destroyed all the achievements of free thought in the political, social and cultural fields? Even if in the future such "revitalization" attempts should be made with the help of "Germany's greatest writers and poets," whose support Katz invokes for this purpose, the record speaks for itself and — *vestigia terrent.*

As Croce says repeatedly in his latest book (GERMANY AND EUROPE: A SPIRITUAL DISSENSION, Random House, 1944), Germany has never been genuinely "*Latinized*" or "*Christianized*," a "*deficiency*" he sees as the result of the battle between Herman the Cherusc, and Varus in 9 B.C.: of that battle which decided the Romans to renounce forever the Romanization of Germany, abandoning that country to itself.

Katz's hopes for the future are not borne out by his suggested "revitalization of Germany's past," which past has followed an uninterrupted path of aggressions, invasions and wars wrought by the Germans on their neighbors since their appearance in recorded history: From the first Germanic tribes whom the Romans encountered when the Cimbri and Teutoni invaded the Apennine Peninsula at the end of the second century B.C. to the periodic invasions by the medieval emperors; from the pillaging legions of Frederic Barbarossa in Milan to the brown-shirted Nazi hordes goose-stepping down the Champs Elysées in Paris; from the bombastic tirades of Vercingetorix, as described by Caesar, to the power-drunk speeches of the Kaiser in the first and of Hitler in the second World War; from the three wars of aggression of Frederick the Great against Maria Theresa to Hitler's invasion of Austria in 1938; from the destruction of Rome by the Visigoths in 410 A.D. to the bombardment of Rotterdam in 1940; from the Teutonic knights and their century-old attempts to subjugate the vast territories east of the Vistula to the attack on Russia in 1941 — their record has always been the same: An unbroken chain of aggressions, conquests, barbarous attacks, ruthlessness, gangsterism and devastation. With Potsdam or Berchtesgaden as their capital, with the Kaiser or Frederick as their ruler, with Bismarck or Hitler as their leader, with Herman the Cherusc or Herman Goering as

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their warlord, with "Zarathustra" or "Mein Kampf" as their gospel, with the "Reichsadler" or the Swastika as their emblem — the picture is always the same, with changes only in dramatis personae, not in essence or basic elements.

These elements are not once mentioned by Katz who seems completely unaware of the real nature of the Germans, of the threat to world civilization that they represent, of the moral, social, political, and religious issues that make the present conflict a crisis for all mankind. Nothing is said about their imperialism as expressed in their openly admitted "drang nach dem Osten," their insatiable cry for more "lebensraum," their frank contempt for all international obligations and agreements. A solemnly signed treaty, the moment they want it abolished, becomes a "scrap of paper," to use the so well-known words of Bethmann-Hollweg (and he was one of their most civilized Chancellors). Their love of warfare, their lust for battle and booty, their treachery and cruelty, their organized bestiality which in the present war surpasses any beastly act ever committed by other peoples — all these are known and often recorded, yet in Katz's essay omitted.

Katz talks about the Germans as if they were normal people temporarily under bad leadership. But the Germans have been militaristic for centuries — "speculators and professionals of war," as a seventeenth-century Italian Cardinal said (Giulio Alberoni, born in Piacenza in 1664) — and German scholars and philosophers prepared the people to absorb the Nazi doctrines, long before Hitler came. The mistake of trusting the so-called "good" Germans was made by the Allies in 1918. The mistake proved fatal and is costing us at present the lives of hundreds of thousands of our finest youth. Let us see to it that the mistake will not be repeated this time.

WILLIAM G. NIEDERLAND, M.D.,
New York, New York.

Psychiatry and the Veteran

To the Editor: In "Honorable Discharge," Dr John A. P. Millet has drawn a clear and convincing outline of the returning soldier. His treatment is both conventional and helpful. The public likes a short and simple tale. For the readers of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, however, it seems logical to assume that a more analytical approach would be apropos, even at the risk of becoming involved in new and strange paths of theoretical speculation.

Mental illness is accepted today as part of a trinity of the psyche, soma and environment, any

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of which may be either the cause or the effect. Therefore, the question of how to meet, accept and keep the returning soldier suffering from any of the many types and degrees of mental illness involves extremely complex considerations. A long view would very probably lay more emphasis upon the backgrounds, remote as well as immediate. We may preferably ask ourselves how we are to build a social community in which soldiers and civilians will have less cause to seek escape from unrealistic and unfair conditions in the environment. Neuroses are means by which sick individuals seek to escape such intolerable conditions and, therefore, in so far as we are able to correct or mitigate the inciting cause, we are assisting in the resolution of the problem. As Dr. Millet implies, war is simply one of the powerful contributing forces. The community influence may be even more harmful because it lasts longer and is more sustained by larger numbers. Abraham Myerson reminds us: "Neuroses are like Caesar's greatness. Some are born with neuroses; some attain neuroses; and some have neuroses thrust upon them."

It may be too much to expect that the public welcome might be even more natural. It should go deeper. It should be understanding, with an appreciation of what he has gone through, his strange experiences, the change in himself and the change in fellowmen and community. Things are not and will not be the same. He needs a psychic reorientation to adjust a new organism to a new situation, to accept a veiwpoint of life as living, not dying; as loving, rather than hating, and as a cooperative, rather than an overly competitive experience. This very fact of newness may prove a helpful contribution to his social restoration. The new ideas pertaining to the social implications of mental illness, the new ideas encouraging the implementing forces of a cooperative and competitive society, the new ideas controlling the hygienic relationship of recreation to work, the new ideas in appreciation of the growing significance of home relationship and its rich symbols as a basic condition for mental health, the new ideas guiding the worker and the employee as fruitful partners in a cooperative enterprise, the new ideas of education in social rehabilitation with its understanding of the serious mental conflicts wrought by failure to sublimate our pioneering aggressions to conquer the Indian and the soil, the new ideals of the church leading it away from its former belief in a moralistic basis for many mental behavior conditions — all these new concepts may conceivably lay the foundation for a shifting of the bases for war neuroses to a stronger social position in which the man on the street will prevent many (not all) neuroses, both on the war and civilian fronts, by simply not demanding more than a human can give. Furthermore, many of these ideals have been vitalized by the soldier and have become more meaningful to him as a result of his new experiences.

If we are to be effective in assisting the returning soldier to help himself, which is acknowledged to be the most practicable motif for modern rehabilitation methods, we will have to know more about just what has happened to him. Has the soldier experienced any changes in personality as a result of his battle experiences, his treatments, ideals and education? On the surface many neuroses emerge as conflicts resulting from the opposing ideas and ideals of the fierce instinct of self-preservation and the willingness to give up one's life, the patriotic love for one's country and the love of oneself. His education, which has taught him the value and virtue of constructiveness, must now contend with contemporary opposing ideals glorifying the techniques of destruction. The mind itself has been subjected in many cases to the most drastic and revolutionary treatments. Those who have seen cases of hysteria rid themselves of distorting ideas and movements while being subjected to the modern techniques of narco-analysis can appreciate a glimpse into the modern field of the exploration of the subconscious in which many experiences seemingly forgotten are brought back and related to conscious elements, thus bridging a gap leading to rational behavior. Those who have seen patients receiving the electric shock treatment for affective disorders have seen how depressions give way to brightness and even euphoria in the most dramatic personality changes produced in all the annals of medicine. Modern methods of hypnosis as developed and used particularly by the English are changing the picture of many war neurotics. How are these individuals who have received drastic mental therapy to fit into the social community again? At the present stage of our knowledge, one can only raise the question. We are unable to answer. Is it possible that such modern therapies will enable us to alter the emotions of the pathologically depressed or overly excited individual through physical means?

To the question of why so many men whose psycho-physical organism was not robust enough to stand the strain of modern war were permitted to enter the armed forces, Dr. Millet explains that in the first place we were unprepared and in the second place such a breakdown under the terrific tension of war does not necessarily imply any weakness in the psychic constitution. I would like to suggest additional reasons. In the first place the public, accepting the draft as a natural develop-

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ment of the democratic process which equalizes opportunity with responsibility, demands that we put these people in the service. In the second place, society demands it because medical educators have failed in teaching the public better. Bleuler gives us the most usable concept of mental illness from the standpoint of the contributions society may make to its understanding and treatment when he speaks of the essence of mental disease as inability to make an acceptable social adjustment. Both the nature and content of this social adjustment are determined largely by the butcher, the baker and the candlestick maker, rather than the doctor, teacher or minister. A misinformed public is frequently guilty, even today, of referring to many ex-service men discharged for mental disability as gold bricks and slackers. Only when the man on the street knows as much about mental illness as he does about his school, church and clubs will there be laid the social and political foundations which will sustain the widest screening of personality types whom tragic experience confirms cannot stand up to battle and are therefore of little or no military value. Educators must aid in overcoming the innuendo that they are social and economic misfits as well.

Furthermore, in my objection to an over-simplification of this problem, I would like to make the point that some of the soldiers, because of the nature of their mental involvement, will be inarticulate in so far as being able to tell just how they feel and thus afford a basis for psychological help. They will need far more than the warmth of a receptive environment. This, however, does not preclude help from the folks back home. Gillespie informs us that neuroses are, in the last analysis, social disorders of the individual and, therefore, there may be important contributions in a social environment. Such help, however, will be most effective with a better understanding of the related and complex factors involved.

In talking to Dr. Von Meduna, discoverer of metrazol, I was impressed by his statement that such drastic therapies as insulin, metrazol and electric shock make the patient more modifiable to social practices, but these treatments are not complete in themselves. The next and equally important step is the patient's re-education and here the public has an opportunity equalled only by its responsibility. The patient needs new hope, new plans, a physic orientation to a new world of self and society. We are grateful to Dr. Millet for developing a timely theme with a sympathetic appreciation of so many diverse factors.

JOHN EISELE DAVIS, Sc.D.,
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Why a "National" Jewish State?

To the Editor: All humanists and lovers of righteousness must be grateful to THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR for the publication in the Autumn number of that noble and earnest appeal for justice to the oppressed and persecuted Jews, the article, "The Jews — A Problem That Cannot Wait," by Robert Gordis.

Certainly the case for Zionism, or for a Jewish *national* home, deserves serious study and sympathetic consideration in educated and cultivated circles. But the sincerest friend of the Jewish victims and potential victims of hate and malice will not, and should not be asked to, ignore the objections to Zionism that have been advanced, not by the anti-Semites, or by the groups that are indifferent to the cruel fate of millions of Jews innocent of any wrongdoing, but by judicious, thoughtful and well-informed Jews, as well as by mature and reasonable Gentiles who fully recognize that anti-Semitism is a menace and peril to democracy, civilization and sound progress.

The objections in question have been presented in that ably edited and valuable periodical, *The Contemporary Jewish Record*, by Jewish scholars and thinkers. The writer of these lines heard them from the lips of the eminent chancellor of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem some years ago in a frank and friendly discussion of the Jewish problem.

Briefly summarized, the argument of Dr. Judah L. Magnes, formerly a distinguished New York rabbi, against Zionism in its extreme form is as follows: A Jewish national home in Palestine, even assuming it to be desirable and, as a solution of the Jewish problem, ideal and just, is practically out of the question now or in the near future, and no realistic thinker can urge it. The question what the Arabs in Palestine and elsewhere ought, in reason and conscience, feel about that plan or proposal is academic. What the millions of Arabs are likely to *do about it*, what they actually feel and believe, is the all-important question. And, unfortunately, the answer is only too clear and certain — the Arabs will *fight* the Jews, and there will be no peace and no freedom or opportunity for years or decades. That is *not* a solution of the problem. The realistic, feasible, reasonable solution is to be found in a *bi*-national Palestinian state, a state granting and insuring equal rights and equal liberties to *all* its citizens and inhabitants. This will give the Jews "a home," with security and dignity and freedom, though not a *national* home. There will be no Jewish flag, but there will be a chance to live, work and pursue happiness.

Under a bi-national state, the so-called minorities problem, everywhere a source of strife and antagonism, will evaporate, melt away. The national state is not happy when it has unassimilated elements: it dislikes the unlike, in religion, race or language. The bi-national or multinational state is not troubled by minorities. The differences do not make a difference in the realms of government and politics. Diversity does not preclude order, harmony, cooperation in working for the safety and welfare of all under equal and just laws.

This position Dr. Magnes has defended in *Foreign Affairs* and other American reviews. Other Jewish leaders have indorsed it. The very conception of majorities and minorities is becoming obsolete under true democracies, democracies which understand and accept cultural diversity, unity instead of uniformity.

Under cultural diversity the Jews are able to preserve whatever distinctive qualities or values they cherish *as* Jews. They need no flag or state for that purpose. They can have and ought to have justice, freedom and opportunity wherever they live or settle in the future. Oppression, persecution, discrimination by law must end and will end if we become civilized. Zionism cannot end *these* evils. Genuine democracy can. Let us all work and fight for genuine democracy and essential humanism.

VICTOR S. YARROS,
La Jolla, Cal.

A Social Anthropologist Speaks

To the Editor: I do not know whether you wish to prolong the discussion of race appearing in the Autumn issue of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR. However, it seems to me unfortunate to close the question without some reply to the letter of Dr. Koontz. Many people assume that a doctor speaks with authority on biological matters. Actually in many universities one may secure a medical degree without in any way receiving the training necessary to speak with accuracy regarding so complex a subject as that of race mixture.

The statement that the Negro is nonmiscible is an expression of personal opinion which is in no way supported by scientific evidence. Negroes, like the people of practically all other racial types, have mixed with their neighbors in all periods of history. There is no evidence that biological deterioration has resulted from such mixture. The social results — as in the case of all race mixture

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— seem to depend on the particular social context in which the mixture occurs. Where there is no assumption of inferiority and where both groups take the mixture for granted there is no evidence that either biological or social instability or deterioration follows. If either group looks down on the other or if mixed unions are frowned upon by one or both groups there are likely to be significant social and personal difficulties growing out of the social situation itself.

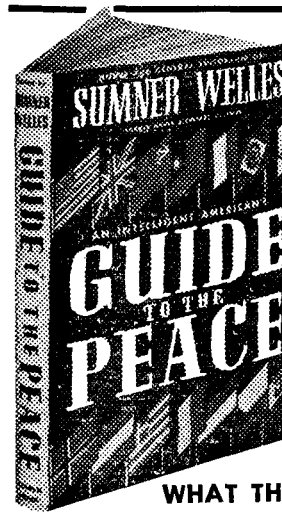
This fact was long ago accepted by both sociologists and anthropologists. Dr. Robert E. Park pointed this fact up clearly in showing that under such circumstances the person of mixed ancestry becomes a "marginal man" not wholly accepted by either world. The evidence seems to support the theory that it is the marginal position rather than the mixture of genes which causes the instability — if such instability really exists — of the persons of mixed racial ancestry.

The same type of misunderstanding has grown up regarding cultural deterioration. The people of different races are often of different cultures also and the bringing in of people of an alien cultural heritage may cause cultural disorganization or deterioration. However, as the distinguished British scientists Haddon and Huxley point out in *We Europeans* it is the mass of alien habits and patterns not the alien genes which causes the strain.

Negroes mixed with Arabs both biologically and culturally during the Middle Ages and there flowered at Timbuctu a Negro-Arabic culture which far surpassed anything known in North Europe at the time. Black, White, Mulatto scholars from the University of Sankoré (at Timbuctu) lectured at the Universities of Egypt and Spain when the Americas still belonged to the Indians and the books these scholars wrote are still in existence though unfortunately not all of them have been translated into English.

In modern times Negroes in Brazil and other Latin American countries have mixed with the Spanish and Portuguese populations and there is no evidence of biological deterioration as a result. And of course there are Negroes of mixed ancestry in this country who are distinguished members of Phi Beta Kappa.

Much of the confusion on this whole question grows out of the fact that people do not distinguish between race as a biological and a sociological reality. Biologically, race can refer only to those characteristics — or potentialities — carried in the germ plasm and transmissible from one generation to another through the mechanism of biological inheritance. Sociologically, race refers to the way people think, feel and act toward real or



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assumed biological differences. Thus the biological and the sociological realities may or may not coincide. The white people of this country are both biologically and sociologically "white" but a large percentage of Negroes in this country are biologically of mixed ancestry but sociologically "black" or Negro. Many of these persons are biologically much more white than Negro and in Latin America would be considered white. This difference grows out of the practice of assigning "mixed bloods" to the Negro group in this country while in Latin America they are regarded as belonging to the race they most nearly approximate genetically.

The biological race concept is the only one useful in classifying human types because it is based on criteria objectively arrived at and the characteristics are biologically transmitted. These characteristics remain the same regardless of the way people feel about them. The sociological race concept is useful in studying such phenomena as race relations, race prejudice, and so on because here it is the way people think, feel, and act that is important.

Both biological and sociological race are forms of reality, but one lies in the field of biological phenomena and the other in the field of social phenomena. Anyone who is ignorant of either the biological sciences or the social sciences is likely to confuse the two and arrive nowhere near the truth. If all social scientists could have at least an introduction to the biological sciences and if the students in the biological fields could have an equally good introduction to the social sciences, we might be spared much of the ignorance and confusion regarding a subject that can be understood only when one has some knowledge of both fields.

INA CORINNE BROWN
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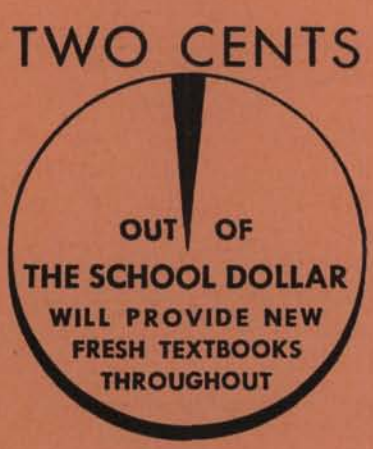

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